

MARYKNOLL IN TANZANIA

PART ONE

BEGINNINGS – 1946 TO 1956

On a steamy evening in mid-October, 1932, a seasoned American traveler disembarked from the passenger quarters of the freighter ‘The Kenya’ in the port of Mombasa, Kenya, the first official Maryknoll visitor – as far as we know – to East Africa. Fr. John Considine, MM, had been stationed in Rome since 1924, one year after his ordination, and in 1927 he founded FIDES, the Vatican’s international news service. In August, 1931, he consulted with Maryknoll’s Superior General, Fr. James A. Walsh, about his proposal to take a year-long journey around the world to view firsthand the work and diverse methods of the various mission societies engaged in foreign mission (the term mission *ad gentes* had not yet been coined). He would also investigate mission territories and report to the Maryknoll General Council on potential new commitments for Maryknoll. In October, 1931, he was given a year’s absence by FIDES for this extensive study-journey, and on November 4th that year he departed from Rome.

In his PhD Thesis on Maryknoll in Tanzania, written in 1972, Joseph Carney says that Considine spoke to him that year about his reasons for including Africa in the tour:

It was necessary for mission work to move beyond the narrow vision of a ‘Roman’ mentality that all mission work was to be done as it was in fact accomplished by the European Catholic Church of the Mediterranean area. Working in a foreign mission in 1931 was like working in a lonely area of an isolated valley. A basic mission question might have been solved ten years earlier by a mission group in another country, but many people in the work of Christian mission did not have the breadth of vision and intellectual curiosity to seek answers in other lands and cultures.

A vertical view of the permanence of the church as expressed in authority is necessary but a horizontal view of the possibilities of mission work amid the great varieties of cultures was being neglected. The 1931 trip was a necessity because much of the Roman view of mission work failed to understand the heterogeneity of indigenous cultures and the positive values within it. The Indian and Chinese rites controversies negated an opportunity of adapting Christianity to those cultures. I was very interested in seeing the various cultures of Africa and the mission operations and possibilities within them.

[Author note: for a full account of Considine’s trip and the Maryknoll deliberations afterwards that led to Maryknoll taking on a mission in Africa, see Chapters Three and Four, pages 38-94, of “The History of the Functional Structure of the Maryknoll Mission in Musoma and Shinyanga, Tanzania” by Joseph P. Carney, 1972. A copy of this is in the Maryknoll library. Here following is an abbreviated account of this trip, including information from Considine’s diary.]

After traveling through many countries in Asia, he departed from Bombay, India, on October 5, 1932, four days before his 35th birthday, and arrived in Mombasa on

October 15th, having stopped briefly in the Seychelles Islands along the way. He originally intended to spend five months in Africa, but would end up being on the continent only three months. While in Mombasa he talked with Archbishop (later Cardinal/Archbishop of Westminster, England) Arthur Hinsley, the Vatican's Apostolic Delegate to East Africa, about the territories in British East Africa – Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda – the styles of work done by each missionary group, and their success. Considine wrote that Hinsley expressed serious doubts about missionaries who do not develop schools properly.

On October 18th Considine set out on a trip of four weeks through the three countries stated above, after which he entered Burundi, Rwanda and Congo. (Burundi and Rwanda originally had been part of German East Africa, but after the First World War these two territories were handed over to Belgium.) This was a remarkable trip, considering the poor state of roads in the 1930s, and would be a strenuous journey even today. Considine visited missions, seminaries, convents, and Catholic schools, talking with priests, Society Superiors, Bishops, Sisters, including several Sister Superiors, and others involved in the work of the Church in East Africa.

For the first week and a half he traveled mainly through Kenya, which included the Mount Kilimanjaro area of northern Tanganyika. In Kenya he visited two missions, Bura in the Taita Hills, not far from Mt. Kilimanjaro, where the pastor commented on the “immoral dances” that took place regularly at night, and Kabaa in Machakos District east of Nairobi. Both of these missions had noteworthy school systems run by the Holy Ghost Fathers. Prior to going to Kabaa Considine went from Bura-Taita to the nearby Mount Kilimanjaro area, also staffed by Holy Ghost Fathers (after 1932 they were American Spiritans). Here, in what was to become the Diocese of Moshi, Considine witnessed great success in church growth. He later wrote that Moshi (Holy Ghost Fathers; the American Province had just been given complete charge of Moshi and Arusha) and Tukuyu (Mbeya) (White Fathers), in southern Tanganyika, were the two most flourishing Catholic areas in Tanganyika. From Kilimanjaro he went to Kabaa, about sixty to seventy miles east of Nairobi, depending on the road used.

In 1932, the Director of Kabaa complex of schools, which included a high school, teachers' training college, a primary school, and a seminary section in the high school, was Fr. Michael Witte, CSSp, of the Netherlands. Witte's innovative teaching methods encompassed student self-discipline, a full, strictly regimented school schedule, involvement of students in enforcing school discipline, activities to promote school spirit, and manual labor, including agricultural work to produce food for the school. Physical punishment, while not used frequently, was an essential component of enforcing school discipline. Considine was impressed by Witte's passionate concern that Africans receive quality education and with the school's good results, writing in the school visitor book: “Kabaa, a synonym for alacrity, good spirits, soundly trained manhood, a monument to a man with an idea and with the indomitable will to surmount all rebuffs and heart scalds.” However, Considine also commented in his diary about the regimentation and excessive discipline in the school – such as the fifty rules, all negative, that had to be strictly followed.

The Kabaa success both in education and the concomitant slow but steadily increasing numbers of people seeking to join the Church raised a fundamental question of what should be the prime method of missionary work: stressing academic education or

doing direct evangelization and pastoral work. In fact, it was Archbishop Hinsley who stated a strong opinion on this to all the East African Bishops gathered in Dar es Salaam in 1928:

Where it is impossible for you to carry on both the immediate task of evangelization and your educational work, neglect your churches in order to perfect your schools.

Whoever owns the schools will own Africa.

Albert De Jong, in his book “Father Michael Witte: A Study in Mission Strategy,” (Pauline Publications, Nairobi, 2011), elucidates on what he calls the four phases of mission strategy in East Africa since the start in Zanzibar in 1860. First was the establishment of villages where ransomed slaves could live in freedom, Bagamoyo being the most notable example, and a second phase that lasted after slavery was abolished in 1900 up till the early 1920s, wherein missionaries concentrated on the catechumenate in mission stations, with barely-educated catechists teaching the catechism and rudimentary academic knowledge. A third phase was inaugurated by changed British colonial policy in 1924, after the investigation of African education by the famous Phelps-Stokes Commission, by which the colonial government would provide financial aid to churches to give quality academic education, on the condition that the teachers be trained and registered by the government, and the schools submit to regular government inspections. Catholic Church leaders, especially Archbishop Hinsley and the Irish Holy Ghost Fathers, decided to concentrate on schools, for several reasons: this changed British colonial policy offered the Church a great opportunity; they feared that if the Catholic Church did not respond positively and determinedly Protestants would win out, especially in taking all the top African positions in government and society; in opposition to others who denigrated African intellectual ability, they confidently believed that Africans would prove very capable; and some, particularly Witte, thought that good spiritual formation in schools would provide tribal society with an elite cadre of exemplary Catholic leaders and would result in successful evangelization of these tribes. De Jong says that a fourth phase began when independent governments nationalized all the schools, around 1968, and dioceses and parishes began to focus on building up small Christian communities and deepening the faith of the Catholic people. This is the phase we are in now, although De Jong comments that in September, 2008, Cardinal John Njue of Nairobi, called for a re-evaluation of the Church role in government schools.

De Jong believes that the third phase of mission strategy, focusing on schools, was successful in its goals. However, it does not seem that Considine was easily persuaded of this, probably because Maryknoll missionaries in Asia at that time stressed evangelization and strong catechetical programs. Carney writes (page 47):

Throughout his travel in Kenya and Uganda Considine noticed that many children ten years old and over, who asked for Baptism in the Catholic or Protestant sects, were quite independent of their parents. The desire for a Christian name, an education, and affiliation with a religious organization moved many to join the Catholic and Protestant churches. He questioned whether the

structure of the church would endure for the long haul of many Christian generations.

After several more days in the Nairobi and Nyeri areas, Considine went on to Uganda, where both the Mill Hill Society and the Missionaries of Africa – then known as the White Fathers – were working. He spent five days in Uganda, first of all in Mill Hill territory in eastern Uganda. He visited the seminary run by Mill Hill and the Little Sisters of St. Francis motherhouse in Nkokonjeru, about forty kilometers southeast of Kampala, where they ran a home for lepers. In Kampala he visited various places, such as Namugongo where the Uganda martyrs were killed, Notre Dame des Martyrs Church, built on the first plot of land obtained by the Catholic Church, in 1879, and Kasubi Hill where the 19th century Baganda kings are buried.

On October 28th, Considine took a long road trip of 120 miles in Uganda, from Kampala to Masaka, visiting in one day a series of missions run by the White Fathers. He noticed something that would become extremely important when offering his recommendations for future assignment of Maryknollers to Africa.

The striking thing I noticed today was the similarity of mission organization in each post, the priests always at least three, or brought to three by either Brothers or a native priest (by special permission from the Superior General). This is a capital point from which the White Fathers never stray, and which keeps up the spiritual life and morale.

How different this system is from the more individualistic work of the Mill Hill Society and the Parish Foreign Mission Society. There is something to be said for these two societies' work, surely, but Uganda is a fine example of the success of the White Fathers' methods. Maryknoll falls into the class of the other two societies, with the exception of (Fr. Bernard) Meyers, who is whipping his men down to his system.

During this trip he discovered that there were already 80,000 Catholics just in that section of Uganda. He also saw St. Mary's College in Rubaga and St. Joseph's Technical School at another mission, two excellent educational institutions started and operated by the White Fathers. It was an exhausting day but well worth it in terms of witnessing great progress in implanting the church.

The next day, a Saturday, he celebrated Mass with Bishop Henry Streicher of Masaka Vicariate (southwest of Kampala, the territory of the White Fathers) and had a long talk with him. The Bishop said that his main concern was with native priests. He had 46 Ugandan priests already, and some of them were pastors in mission parishes. He was severe with them, since he was convinced that active, spiritual discipline was essential. Each native priest was expected to maintain connections with a spiritual director at the seminary and, although this increased the load of the seminary professors, this system had yielded good results. The Ugandan people were very proud of having their own native priests. Bishop Streicher was also very confident that the native priesthood would persevere and flourish into the future. (In 1939, one of the Ugandan priests, Fr. Joseph Kiwanuka, who had a doctorate in theology and had joined the White Fathers in 1933,

was chosen by Rome to be Vicar Apostolic of Masaka, and later he became the first Archbishop of Kampala.)

Considine also visited the motherhouse of the Bannabikira Sisters (Daughters of the Virgin), an indigenous group of nuns that originated with a request by three daughters of Chiefs to be Sisters and was canonically recognized in 1908. Their main activity was teaching in primary schools. Considine reported that as of October, 1932, there were 212 members in the congregation. In 1957, the numbers had risen to over 500 and the congregation was raised to pontifical status, the first indigenous congregation of African nuns to receive this honor.

After spending several nights at Villa Maria, the headquarters of the White Fathers, Considine departed on the evening of October 30th by steamer on Lake Victoria for Mwanza, a trip which took longer than expected, as many goods needed to be unloaded in the port of Bukoba, on the western side of the lake. Considine visited Bukoba for a few hours on the evening of October 31st and finally arrived in Mwanza on Tuesday the first of November.

Mwanza had started as the Vicariate Apostolic of Nyanza in 1880, separated from the Vicariate of Central Africa in Sudan. In April, 1929, the Vicariate of Bukoba was separated from Mwanza, and the latter was renamed the Vicariate of Mwanza. A White Father from Rwanda-Urundi, Antoine Oomen, was made Bishop of the Mwanza Vicariate. He was still Bishop of Mwanza when the first Maryknoll priests arrived in 1946, and remained in Mwanza till 1950. Bishop Oomen was one of those who welcomed Considine to Mwanza.

Given that Maryknoll was to take the territories to the north and east of Mwanza in 1946, it is interesting to note that Considine did not find much progress in the church in that city, calling the plant “rakish,” the church “bare,” and the singing of the choir during Benediction “abominable.” He mentioned that there was only one parish in the northern part of Mwanza Vicariate, Nyegina, where there were 1000 Catholics in 1932. (Kowak Mission was not started until 1933.) His report stated that much hard work was needed to bring this area up to an acceptable level of church establishment.

The full report of the great possibilities of doing mission work in East Africa that he submitted to Maryknoll leadership in 1933 percolated for some years. In 1934 Considine returned to Maryknoll, NY, and was on the General Council up to 1946. During this time he strongly advocated that if Maryknoll were to take a territory in Africa, it should be in Tanganyika, under White Fathers’ tutelage. Their rule of living in a community of at least three in a residence reinforced the morale and spiritual fervor of the missionaries. In addition, their four-year catechumenate seemed to be producing strong Christians from what was just a few decades earlier a non-Christian milieu. The White Fathers were also having satisfactory success at producing a local priesthood and indigenous congregations of Sisters. Other factors influencing Considine’s preference to the eastern side of Lake Victoria were the large populations, scarcity of mission personnel, and the absence of the physical presence of the church. It was in what Considine called the belt of conversions and had a very small Muslim presence. Considine felt that Maryknoll should start in Africa in an area where possibilities for success were good. Later, when Maryknoll was established in Africa, it could look for other more difficult places. Another reason for choosing northwestern Tanganyika was its higher altitude, making it healthier than places near the coast. Large percentages of

European missionaries, especially those from Ireland, died within three years of arriving to do missionary work in coastal Tanganyika. (The statistics in West Africa were even worse, causing it to be labeled the “White Man’s Grave.”)

The first official statement regarding Maryknoll work in Tanganyika came in a letter written on March 29, 1936, from Fr. James Drought, Maryknoll Vicar General, to Bishop James E. Walsh, Maryknoll Superior General, saying, “He (the Director of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, usually referred to as Propaganda Fide) thinks that Tanganyika would be a good place to start.”

In 1939, it appeared that matters had become favorable for Maryknoll to take on a territory in Tanganyika, in great part due to the internment of many German and Italian missionaries in British East Africa. The Church in East Africa was in dire need of priests to substitute for this loss. The General Council minutes of October 31, 1939, state: “If we are permitted to express preference we shall select Africa and if possible a mission in the belt of conversions. We have thought of Tanganyika. This would change the idea that Maryknoll was founded only to serve missions in Asia.” These minutes also mention that Maryknoll should consider recruiting African-American men to the Society, on the same basis as Whites.

Several days later, on November 3rd, Considine issued a memorandum to the General Council recommending that Tanganyika be preferred as a potential Maryknoll Mission in Africa. On November 6, 1939, Bishop Walsh wrote to Fr. Thomas Kiernan, the Maryknoll Procurator in Rome, stating: “If the Sacred Congregation needs us, and in this case to offer services for a field in Africa, preferably in the belt of conversions, we have thought of Tanganyika.” Fr. Kiernan forwarded these points on to Propaganda Fide.

However, the growing momentum for a Maryknoll mission to Africa met an immediate roadblock. Cardinal Fumisoni-Biondi stated that he did not expect many priests to be detained by the British during the war, and even if a few were detained or expelled the various missionary orders in those territories would be able to supply the necessary personnel needed. Since no religious order in Tanganyika had requested a subdivision of its vicariate, it would not be appropriate for Maryknoll to send any priests there at that time.

Instead, he offered a territory in northern Nigeria that the Lyons Africa Mission Society, responsible for the territory, wished to divide, a proposition supported by the Apostolic Delegate to that area. The Maryknoll General Council then had to sensitively respond to the Congregation that it did not have sufficient personnel to staff a new territory permanently, that it had intended to supply only temporary personnel, for the duration of the war, and that it could not at that time accept the Nigeria mission. At the same time the General Council wanted Propaganda Fide to know that at some future time Maryknoll would have sufficient personnel for a permanent commitment to Africa, and that it preferred Tanganyika.

On November 19, 1939, Fr. Kiernan wrote to Bishop Walsh that, “I have a feeling that the Cardinal will find a decent place in Africa for us when and if we want it a few years hence.” Kiernan also intimated in his letter that the Vatican officials thought that Maryknoll was moving too fast, that it was a young society and had a lot to learn. Kiernan also said that Rome thought that Maryknoll was moving too fast to open up its membership to African-Americans, since there were other religious communities doing this. Furthermore, Maryknoll needed to learn the correct procedure of taking on a new

mission: “Find a good place, get the local Vicar to agree to a division and then present it to the Congregation.”

This rebuff, albeit stated in very diplomatic language by the Roman officials, plus the onset of World War Two, resulted in Maryknoll postponing assignment of its personnel to Africa until after the end of the war, although in February, 1940, Fr. Kiernan again wrote to Bishop Walsh that there was a chance of being assigned a field by Rome (i.e. in the future, when Maryknoll was ready).

In the meantime, Considine sent another memorandum to the General Council saying that Maryknoll should try to raise interest in America for the conversion of Africa, which would be beneficial if Maryknoll were to undertake a mission to that continent.

Finally, after the war’s completion Maryknoll received word of possibly being granted the prefecture of Musoma-Maswa in Tanganyika, and began doing serious research on this territory. On February 14, 1946, letters were exchanged between Propaganda Fide and Maryknoll’s Superior General that Musoma-Maswa was to be a Maryknoll Prefecture, after proper training, and on the number of priests that would be needed. On March 12, 1946, the Maryknoll Superior General, Bishop James E. Walsh, sent an official letter to Cardinal Fumasoni Biondi, Head of Propaganda Fide, officially accepting the Musoma-Maswa mission, and saying that four priests would be sent. On April 11, 1946, the Musoma-Maswa Prefecture was erected, comprising the Districts of North Mara, Musoma, Maswa and Ukerewe. Joseph Blomjous, M.Afr., was ordained Bishop and made the Apostolic Vicar of Musoma until such time as Maryknoll would be ready to assume full control. (On June 25, 1950, Blomjous was made Vicar Apostolic of Mwanza, replacing Bishop Oomen, and Fr. Gerald Grondin, MM, was made Apostolic Prefect of Musoma.)

In the next few months of 1946 the General Council worked feverishly to gather more information about Musoma and to decide on the best personnel to assign there. The first one chosen was Fr. William Collins, who had been ordained in 1939 and was teaching at the Venard, to be leader of the new group. In May three others were assigned: Fr. Bert Good, who had been ordained in 1940 and had originally been assigned to the Orient, and two to be ordained in June, Lou Bayless and Joe Brannigan.

After fourteen years of a long process of research, discernment and discussion, Maryknoll was finally going to Africa. All that remained now was to set sail.

A brief history of Tanganyika:

East Africa, and more specifically the Rift Valley of Tanganyika, Kenya and Ethiopia, is the cradle of humanity. The hominids and especially the species *Homo Erectus* originated in East Africa, the latter migrating over much of the eastern hemisphere. Our species, *Homo Sapiens*, also originated there about 200,000 to 400,000 years ago. Apparently there were several migrations of *Homo Sapiens* out of central Africa prior to 70,000 years ago, but these groups did not last. Genetic evidence strongly indicates that the small group of *Homo Sapiens* that existed in the Rift Valley of East Africa 70,000 years ago is the ancestral group of all humans living on the planet today. Most migrated elsewhere; some remained there and are there today – although not exactly the same ethno-linguistic group.

The inhabitants of Tanganyika 3000 and more years ago were Khoisan stone-age hunter-gatherers, and were few in number. One of the few remaining groups is the Sandawe, who live on the rim of the rift valley. Several centuries BCE, Cushitic-speaking people migrated down the rift valley to Tanganyika, represented by the Burungi, Gorowa and Iraqw peoples. Starting at least 2,500 years ago Bantu iron-using agriculturalists migrated in from the west and by 2,000 years ago occupied all five natural regions of Tanganyika (the coastal plain, northeast mountains, southwest highlands, western plateau, and the lush northwest highlands), although the settlers in the northeast mountainous region seem to be a distinct Bantu-speaking people. This latter group probably migrated to the East African coast from southern Africa, but was also producing iron. The final group, which had several migrations from the northwest, some relatively recent, is the Nilotic (also called Chari-Nilotic) who are pastoralists and settled between the Rift Valley and Lake Victoria. They are represented by the Maasai, Tatoga and Luo (who are also subsistence fishermen).

A brief comment will be made here on the origins of the Swahili people on the Indian Ocean coast, based on archeological and linguistic evidence. As the Swahili language is over ninety percent similar to the Mijikenda/Pokomo languages (of Kenya), the Swahili people are definitely Bantu people who evolved a town culture beginning about 2000 years ago. The Late Stone Age people of the coast at that time (who have now completely disappeared) used boats and depended on marine life for their subsistence. The Bantu agriculturalists probably borrowed this technology and also practiced fishing. Another theory (unfortunately, proof from archeological evidence is not yet available) is that the Malagasy-speaking people who settled Madagascar 2,000 years ago also engaged in activities along the East African coast and may even have lived in East Africa for some time. Most likely they are the ones who introduced various forms of maritime and fishing technology, such as outrigger canoes, plus bananas, plantains and chickens. (The chicken is indigenous to the forests of southeast Asia, where it was first domesticated about 8,000 to 9,000 years ago.) Thus, it is likely that the Bantu settlers at the coast also became engaged in maritime activities 2,000 or more years ago.

Maritime trade along the Indian Ocean from India to Arabia to the Red Sea and probably to the East African coast (Somalia) first began about 6,500 years ago, but by 1,000 BCE had ceased almost completely. The trade was resumed around 100 BCE and certainly reached East Africa. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, written in 40 CE, describes stops at both Menouthias (the island of Pemba) and Rhapta (the port of Bagamoyo), where the inhabitants had sewn boats, lived in small coastal villages, and engaged in maritime trade with seafarers from Arabia. Some Arabian and Indian goods made it deep into the interior of Tanganyika, evidence that land-based trade was also going on. Some of these Bantu coastal groups evolved a unique culture, based on town dwelling, international maritime trade, and beginning in the eighth century the religion of Islam – and became known as the Swahili people.

More will be said about the Swahili people (and other coastal people) when we treat Maryknoll's move to Dar es Salaam in 1965. For now, though, it must be pointed out that the Swahili are not the descendants of Arab or Persian settlers on the East African coast, although without doubt a few Arab sailors impregnated African women over the centuries – and many Arab words entered the Bantu language that evolved into Swahili. The Arabs who settled in East Africa came only much later, beginning at the end

of the 18th century. The stone towns built between the 11th and 14th centuries along the coast were built by Africans, not Arabs.

[Author note: information on the Swahili comes from the book, “The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society,” by Mark Horton and John Middleton, published by Blackwell, Malden, MA, 2000.

Most of the remaining comments on the history of Tanganyika come from John Iliffe, “A Modern History of Tanganyika, 1800 to 1961,” published in 1975.

I have produced a 130-page digital summary of Iliffe’s book, which will be available at the Maryknoll Archives. This can be sent or downloaded to anyone requesting it.]

An important question that has and had political repercussions is whether Tanganyika’s immigrants were tribes or just people. According to Iliffe:

Early nineteenth-century Tanganyika was not inhabited by discreet, compact, and identifiable tribes, each with a distinct territory, language, culture and political system. As they migrated, normally one group merged imperceptibly into another. Tanganyika was not composed of tribes. Its groups and identities were formed in other ways, by adapting to a specific, botanical environment. A people’s adaptation to its environment was its civilization.

People migrating into Tanganyika faced four obstacles in colonizing the land: the poverty of the soils, which were shallow, leached by the heavy rains of the wet season, and deficient in humus and phosphates; scarcity of water – only twenty percent of the country received more than 800 millimeters (32 inches) of rain per year, and in those places irregularity of rainfall made agriculture precarious; wild animals; and disease, especially malaria and tsetse fly.

Steven Feireman, in his book on the Shambaa Kingdom (1974), stated:

The farmer had to sow a great variety of crops with a great variety of characteristics, in order to survive no matter what the climatic variations, so that he would not be, in effect, wiped out. By taking a single ecological zone, understanding its complexity with a thoroughness incomprehensible to even a rural westerner, developing a rich and subtle language with a profusion of terms for the understanding of local ecology, and planting dozens of crops to which the environment was peculiarly suited, the farmer sought to defeat famine, to cheat death.

Contrary to very biased western presumptions about Africa, state formation had been well underway in Tanganyika by 1800, as Iliffe says:

The political systems existing in Tanganyika in 1800 ranged from complete statelessness to chiefdoms administered by appointed officers. States were not necessarily more ‘advanced’ than stateless societies. Many of Africa’s most cultured peoples were stateless. Rather these were adaptations to different circumstances. Generally, high rainfall, permanent agriculture, and dense

population made an articulated political system likely, although this was not always so. The reason lay in the dynamics of colonization: pioneering stimulated political organization by mingling peoples with different customs and mutually advantageous specialities who needed superior authority to facilitate their interactions and arbitrate their disputes.

The societies of 1800 were in the midst of the dynamic, autochthonous change that came from the mingling of diverse colonists.

The peoples of Tanganyika were neither isolated nor in a state of tribal war. Antagonisms arising from proximity with peoples of contrasting cultures were balanced by a lively exchange of goods. Groups learned or borrowed from immigrant groups new skills, products, tools, weapons, and cultural forms, such as the age-sets of the Chari-Nilotic immigrants, which gave them an advantage in warfare.

Most groups had the following common religious practices/beliefs: belief in a single deity; consultation with diviners in cases of misfortune, with ancestral spirits usually cited as the cause, to be propitiated by sacrificial offerings; belief in witchcraft as an alternative cause of evil, with one solution being the killing of the suspected witch; and the use of medicines for protection or harm, such as herbal remedies or magical charms. Other religious practices peculiar to individual peoples were: attribution of a religious dimension to political leaders; rain-making; cults of nature spirits; shrines, usually in caves associated with water; and belief in spirit possession.

Africans believe that their traditional beliefs and practices more effectively explain and protect them from inexplicable evil – illness, death, and natural catastrophes. Christianity, accompanied by modern education, better explains the wider world.

In the nineteenth century the territory-wide trade in slaves and ivory terminating in Zanzibar brought about major economic and structural change. By 1850 the elephant herds were disappearing, causing rapid increases in the price of ivory and an emphasis on slaves as the primary commodity. By 1873 20,000 slaves were being sold each year, mainly through Kilwa but also Bagamoyo. Zanzibar controlled this trade for the global market. Slaves came primarily from the area between the great lakes, captured from stateless peoples by militarized neighboring tribes. Swahili and Arab merchants became the middle-men for trade in these items.

Trade also brought new products into the interior, such as firearms, cotton cloth, new foods and manufactured goods. Some products disrupted traditional livelihoods: for example, cotton replaced barkcloth, causing an indigenous industry to gradually collapse. Trade, however, created a whole new form of employment: the porter. Caravans generally had 1,000 porters, and included hundreds of women and children marching along. In 1890, it was estimated that 100,000 African porters traveled just the central route alone. (There were three routes: a southern route along the Ruaha Valley; a central route through Dodoma and Tabora to Ujiji; and a northern route along the Pangani River to Moshi and Arusha.)

The crucial structural element in this 19th century trade was that the two primary export commodities, ivory and slaves, ceased to exist by the end of the century, when slavery was abolished, and there was no product in the interior to replace them.

There were a number of accompanying changes, such as the spread of Swahili throughout the territory as the lingua franca. Some Chiefs who engaged in the ivory trade, especially Mkwawa of the Hehe tribe, became rich and powerful. The Ngoni invasion from southern Africa in mid-century transformed the whole southern highlands, making it much more militaristic. By 1890, the Hehe had become the dominant military and political power in the south, just as colonialism was coming in. A famous Nyamwezi Chief, Mirambo, created his own paramilitary organization, called *rugaruga*, which was a standing army of brutal, young men. In places there were revolts against autocratic rulers or states. The porters likewise were not passive; they regularly engaged in worker actions, although not to be compared with 20th century trade-union organizing and methods.

Ilfie sums up the 19th century changes in this way:

Tanganyika, it might appear, suffered a particularly vicious form of underdevelopment, becoming specialized in the production of ivory and slaves at the expense of other economic activities, only for the supply of these products to collapse at the time of colonial invasion, leaving them ill-equipped to respond to the colonial period. But this needs qualifications.

New products, notably rubber, began to replace ivory in the 1870s. The caravan system was itself an economic asset carried into the twentieth century. Tanganyikans became accustomed to wage-labor, commercial exchange, and the export of agricultural produce, which prepared them for economic activity in the colonial period. Trade and wider communications spread new crops, especially maize and rice, the most important economic gain of the century. Whether these outweighed the destructive effects is an unanswerable question. Historically, the important process was structural change.

Socially, it was a century of increasing strife and tension. Witchcraft became increasingly blamed for inexplicable misfortunes. Ilfie says, “The expansion of slavery, the greater cruelty of warfare, the brutality of the Chiefs, the Kiva rebellion and the time of rapacity, all suggest growing oppression and misery for the weak. Autobiographies of 19th century women are horrifying and show an intense desire for security and protection.”

By 1880 the European scramble for Africa was well underway. Most who will read this volume are already aware of the Berlin Conferences of 1884-85 that ceded Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi to Germany. Originally, the German Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, was not in favor of a colony in Tanganyika (unlike in Southwest Africa). But militant voices in his government and the constant acquisitions by Britain and France of new colonies pressured him into acceding to the demands for a colony in Tanganyika, a decision that was made on February 23, 1885. A reckless adventurer, Carl Peters, had also spurred this decision by traveling through northeastern Tanganyika making treaties with local African leaders, which ostensibly ceded thousands of square miles of territory to Germany, land deals that were later rescinded by the German colonial administration. Instead the German East Africa Company (DOAG) was dispatched to Tanganyika to

research and start economic activity. It established eighteen trading stations throughout the country, albeit with much local hostility.

Resistance sprung up not long after, beginning with the Abushiri Rebellion, called by Germany the 'Arab Revolt,' led by slave traders from Tanga and Pangani (Germany had collaborated with Britain to suppress the slave trade), but included many sectors of the heterogeneous coastal society, including many slaves. It began in 1888 and took two years for the Germans to suppress it. One tragic consequence was the killing of two Benedictine Brothers and a Sister at the newly founded mission of Pugu, outside of Dar es Salaam, when they were mistaken by Abushiri's soldiers for German settlers. This revolt has to be put in wider context, as John Baur explains ("2000 Years of Christianity in Africa," Paulines Publications, Nairobi, 2009):

The occupation of the Tanganyika coast by the Germans threatened the Arabs with a total loss of trade in East Africa. They became convinced that it would be best to expel all European intruders by building up first a powerful empire in the interior. In the same year, 1888, four attempts were made at an Arab empire in inner East Africa. They were the Arab takeover in Buganda, Abushiri's rebellion at the coast, Tippu Tib's empire around Lake Tanganyika, and Mlozi's attempt at a Swahili empire north of Lake Malawi.

The most important consequence was to commit Germany to full-scale colonial rule, and on January 1, 1891, the DOAG's administrative functions passed to the imperial government. Germany then set out to conquer all of Tanganyika. Most inland leaders recognized German military superiority and did not resist. However, one Yao warrior, Mchemba, fought a guerilla campaign for eight years, till 1899.

A particularly heinous German campaign took place during this time, led by Emin Pasha, an eccentric Austrian doctor, who stormed through central Tanganyika with cruel savagery, "leaving everything in chaos from Mpwapwa (100 kilometers east of Dodoma) to Karagwe (on the northwestern border)."

The most significant opposition to German rule, prior to 1900, was the Hehe Resistance. The Hehe Chief, Mkwawa, had already begun expanding his kingdom, centered in Iringa. Periodic warfare between the Hehe and the Germans continued from 1890 to 1894, and in March, 1891, the Hehe wiped out a German column marching towards Iringa. Finally, on October 30, 1894, a large German force destroyed Iringa town and fortress and killed 250 Hehe warriors. Mkwawa escaped and for the next four years he and a small band lived in the forests, preventing full German control of the area. Mkwawa's brother Mpangile surrendered to the Germans and allowed them to build a German fort (called a boma) in Iringa. On July 19, 1898, a German patrol found the dead body of Mkwawa in deep bush northwest of Iringa.

When Mkwawa died in 1898 the Germans controlled all Tanganyika's main population centers and lines of communication. The early German regime used bands of gunmen to maintain authority over compliant local leaders – "an empire of *rugaruga*" it was called – not unlike 19th century Chiefs had done. German rule was spread unevenly, however: remote areas remained entirely ungoverned; coastal towns grew into full administrative centers, with civilian district officers; inland, most places were led by military garrisons.

The most serious rebellion against German rule was to occur in 1905, the Maji Maji Rebellion. Before we consider this war, it is worthwhile to look at the many changes that the colonial enterprise was bringing to Tanganyika.

The imposition of the tax in 1898 marked a second phase of German administration. Prior to that the Germans tried to collaborate with local leaders to bring about colonial rule. With the tax, to be collected by the Chiefs, the latter began to lose popular support, seen now not as tribal leaders but as agents of colonial rule.

Colonial taxation of subjugated peoples is an age-old method of asserting compliance of hated colonial rule (c.f. the gospel question to Jesus about paying the 'census,' the colonial tax that every Jewish adult had to pay to imperial Rome, one of the main causes of the Jewish Revolt of 66-70 CE). The purpose is not primarily to raise revenue for the colonial administration; in Tanganyika African taxation was used solely to pay the interest due to private German investors who funded construction of the railway lines, an expenditure continued by the British after World War I. But the more fundamental purposes were to force indigenous Africans to work on German plantations or other economic enterprises (primarily the railway) in order to earn money for tax payment, and to incorporate them into a monetary, colonial economy (first territorial and then global). There are very close structural and functional relationships between colonialism and capitalism.

Colonialism introduced Tanganyika to the global disease environment, which brought ecological catastrophes such as a rinderpest epidemic that killed 95% of pastoralists' cattle and resulted in the deaths of over two-thirds of the Maasai, outbreaks of smallpox, locust invasions, and severe drought in 1898 and following years. As the colonial economy entered the country, even greater disasters took place in the twentieth century. The 1911 census figure of four million is the most reliable figure for any year in the German era. From then until the 1920s it is estimated that many places lost between one-third and one-half of their populations, and it is reliably inferred that there was a significant decline in population for the territory from 1895 to 1920, not recovering until beginning in 1925.

Lack of labor in woodland savannah areas (due to labor migration away from these areas) led to deserted fields, hordes of wild animals devouring crops, and a rapid increase in tsetse fly. In 1913 it was estimated that the tsetse fly had infested one-third of the country. Trypanosomiasis was causing many deaths, especially in the Lake Victoria area.

Other major changes were the building of the two railway lines, one through central Tanganyika to Tabora and Ujiji, and the other northern line to Moshi, completed only in 1914. In the 1920s the British extended the Tabora line to Mwanza and the Moshi line to Arusha. These developments led to plantation agriculture, particularly sisal, which accounted for one-quarter of the colony's export value, the introduction of other cash crops, such as coffee (which actually became an African small-holder cash crop in the Kilimanjaro area), rubber (which failed as a plantation crop, but did well for peasants harvesting wild rubber in the southeast), and cotton (which also failed as a plantation crop, but did very well as a small-holder crop in the eastern shore of Lake Victoria). The railway and prospect of large-scale agriculture brought European settlement, mainly in the Usambara, Kilimanjaro/Mt. Meru, and Morogoro areas, but it never amounted to more than one percent of Tanganyika's land area, unlike in Kenya and Rhodesia. Despite

the small numbers of Europeans (only 5,000 in 1913) they accounted for 57% of the colony's exports. This economic power led to aggressive moves by the settlers for much more political power vis-à-vis the colonial administration.

Racist attitudes were also rampant among the European settlers, as Iliffe explains:

(In addition to) paranoid fears that Africans were always on the verge of revolt, (settlers also) believed that Africans had not yet evolved to the same degree of mental ability as Europeans. Even the most humane Germans thought in these terms. They stereotyped all Africans with very pejorative terms, such as savage, lazy, cunning, and repulsively ugly. At the same time, they believed that the African would be loyal and obedient to a master who was 'just but firm.' This thinking justified their harsh authoritarianism, including frequent recourse to flogging.

Some other notable changes were the end of the caravan trade, which along with placing the railroad terminals in Dar es Salaam, resulted in this deep-water harbor becoming the capital, replacing Bagamoyo, the 19th century capital. Tanga, with a deep-water harbor and a railroad terminal, also became a major city. Likewise, Mwanza's port and share of trade in Lake Victoria grew dramatically after completion of the railroad to Jinja, Uganda, and Kisumu, Kenya. To try to wrest some of that commerce away from Britain, Germany decided to extend the railway line from Tabora to Mwanza, a plan, however, which was not begun prior to outbreak of the World War I.

In the 20th century Tanganyikans started becoming conscious of tribe, which was essential for the colonial tactic of indirect rule. In the 1950s, uniting the territory's disparate ethnic groups into one nationalist movement was TANU's most indispensable goal.

Coffee became not only one of Tanganyika's main export crops but created huge social change within two tribes, the Chagga and the Haya. In Tanganyika it has been primarily a small-holder cash crop, but some Chagga and Haya coffee farmers developed relatively large farms, in effect introducing capitalist relations to a previously subsistence mentality. In the century's first decade, for the first time ever, Chagga began employing other Chagga for wage labor, something inconceivable in the subsistence worldview. In 1913, six Chagga had over 1,000 coffee trees and several others had over a hundred. By 1930 Chagga farmers owned over six million trees and the formation of a rural gentry was well underway. Educated Christians and Chiefs were the foremost large coffee farmers.

In contrast, cotton, wild rubber, and millet, a profitable crop grown by small-holders in southeastern Tanganyika, benefited small-holder, subsistence farmers rather than Chiefs or other tribal elites.

The caravan trade of the 19th century had already introduced new realities such as labor migration, wage labor and monetary exchange, making taxation, use of money, and hiring of labor for plantations easier for the colonial government to implement. At first, plantation workers were overwhelmingly Nyamwezi and Sukuma, but after 1908, when systematic taxation and labor recruiting had been extended widely, there was a more even ethnic distribution of laborers. Workers preferred work on the railways: wages were higher, food more plentiful, and medical care better. On the plantations not only were

wages low but abuses many: brutality, flogging, bad housing, hunger, overwork, disease, and death.

The Maji Maji Rebellion began on July 30, 1905, when some Matumbi men uprooted cotton plants, which were seen as the symbols of colonial oppression and the subversion of the traditional economy. The Matumbi were a stateless people living in the hills northwest of Kilwa and were being forced to work for a pittance and under harsh discipline on German cotton farms. The rebellion quickly spread to many stateless peoples of the southeast and then to newly formed states of the southwest highlands – with the important exceptions of the Hehe and the Yao, who knew what German firepower could do.

It took place at the moment of transition from the 19th century economy to the colonial order and it began as a movement of highlanders and frontiersmen resisting incorporation into the colonial economy and reduction to peasant status. Iliffe draws an important distinction between what he calls ‘tribesmen,’ those engaged solely in traditional subsistence agriculture or pastoralism, and peasants, i.e. those who produce not only for self-reliance but also for sale to the wider economy. (Peasants are also expected to pay taxes, provide labor for public works projects, and provide men for regional or national defense.)

Belief in a magical protection against European superior weaponry came from a cultic practitioner named Kinjikitile Ngwale who since mid-1904 had been spreading the Bokero cult to neighboring tribes and distributing medicine – *maji*, Swahili for water – through his assistants, called *hongo*. He claimed that the *maji* would make Africans impervious to European bullets. Kinjikitile also wanted to organize all the tribes into a secret mass movement and in fact multi-tribal unity was the most important outcome of the short-lived war.

Baur cites research carried out by the History Department of Dar es Salaam University under Professor Terence Ranger, which found an astonishingly strong religious motivation for this rebellion. Baur will be quoted directly here:

There was resentment against forced labor and taxation, as well as dissatisfaction with foreign rule in general. But the message of prophet Kinjikitile was that after expelling the foreigners the ancestors would return, wild animals would be tamed and prosperity rule everywhere. The drinking of *maji maji* (super water) would render the fighters invulnerable to European bullets. All the southern tribes accepted it except Mkwawa’s Wahehe. In this greatest of colonial wars the Askari wa Mungu, Soldiers of God, as the insurgents called themselves, caused the foreign intruders great losses but eventually succumbed to their firearms. Many more, though, died in the famine caused by the destruction of crops, a measure that the Germans used as a desperate means to subdue the people.

Whereas in previous rebellions German missionaries were not attacked, in the Maji Maji War Benedictines at Peramiho and other missions, including their popular Bishop Cassian Spiss, were killed, often being speared to death.

The rebels achieved a few military successes, but as the month of August, 1905, proceeded Africans were being killed by German weapons and some Chiefs were becoming skeptical of the power of the *maji*. The crucial battle took place on August 30th, when several thousand Ngindo warriors were mercilessly slaughtered trying to attack a German fort in Mahenge, in the Pogoro highlands. From September to the end of the year the Germans systematically quelled the rebellion in all directions, especially when Governor Graf von Gotzen received reinforcements in late October. Many tribes surrendered, and others to the further north and west refused to join, although they agreed with the grievances. Many leaders were captured and executed. One hundred Ngoni aristocrats were hung, leading to destruction of the Ngoni military society and wiping out a generation of leaders. In a few places warriors were able to hide out in mountain forests until mid-1906, and a few up to 1908, but hunger drove them to come out and surrender.

Germans won not only with military means, but severe burnt-earth tactics, destroying all agricultural produce and burning down whole villages. Famine lasted till mid-1908 and in some places a half to two-thirds of the population died. Total deaths are unknown, but one expert estimated it was from 250,000 to 300,000, one-third of the total population of the area (southeast to southwest highlands). Conversely, only fifteen Europeans were killed, plus another 390 African soldiers fighting on the German side.

The Africans had lost the war and their independence, and remained very bitter, even though tribal unity had increased. Also a new concept of leadership developed: no longer would religious status qualify someone but rather proven capability in military or other form of leadership qualities. However, matters did not end there: strikes continued on German plantations, and the Mwera betrayed German positions to the British during the First World War, in revenge for Maji Maji.

Christianity, however, made gains with the southern tribes, as Baur explains:

In the aftermath (of the Maji Maji War) disillusion with the traditional religion opened the people's hearts to the missionaries. It was often heard: "Mhongo has deceived us," and "if Fr. Cassian had been here, these things would not have happened." The Fathers' help with food and their defense of people's interests during the famine further contributed to the new atmosphere of trust. In Peramiho the converts grew from 500 to 5,000 in nine years. The Wamatumbi, who had started the war, accepted the Benedictines as early as 1908. The first five priests of the Dar es Salaam Vicariate were from among them.

The First World War proved equally destructive for some Tanganyikan peoples and at the same time a boon for others. The Congo Act of 1885 had provisions requiring neutrality in African possessions if war were to break out between the European powers, and the Governor of Tanganyika, Heinrich Schnee, wanted to preserve this neutrality. However, the Commander of the Defense Force, Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, opposed this as he wanted to tie down as many allied forces as possible. Lettow-Vorbeck engaged in a crafty, masterful campaign, making use of Tanganyika's bush environment, lack of roads, muddy terrain during rainy seasons, and the machine-gun, which gave a decided edge to defensive positions. He achieved his primary goal, as with fewer than 5,000 troops he was able to tie down 200,000 combined British, Indian, Congolese and East African allied troops for the whole four-year duration of the war.

Lettow-Vorbeck's troops started in northern Tanganyika, moved down to southeastern Tanganyika then westwards to the southern highlands. In late October, 1917, after the most violent battle of the whole campaign, at Mahiwa, on the southwestern face of the Mwera plateau, his troops crossed over into Mozambique. For the following year he managed to evade British forces, and finally he surrendered in northern Zambia two weeks after the armistice in Europe was signed on November 11, 1918.

Von Lettow-Vorbeck's troops lived off the land, extracting food and other resources from a defenseless and disregarded African populace, proving again how vulnerable Africans were to European military power. A huge famine again afflicted the land and in Dodoma District an estimated 300,000 died. Tsetse fly spread from one-third to two-thirds of the country. Other diseases, such as smallpox and influenza, killed tens of thousands of people. In the 1920s the British tried to eradicate tsetse fly, but their methods were based on non-scientific criteria and the initial efforts failed.

After the war the British administration expelled all the German settlers and African groups benefited, as Chagga, Meru, and Arusha people occupied the former European farms. The Maasai, however, were also liberated by removal of the German administration and they began hostile activities aimed at those same three groups.

As previously mentioned, Burundi and Rwanda were given over to Belgian rule. On February 1, 1920, Tanganyika became a Mandated Territory to be administered by Great Britain, under supervision of the League of Nations. In July, 1922, the mandate gave Britain "full powers of legislation and administration," while binding it to promote the "material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants." Two activities specifically banned were slavery – there were still about 10,000 slaves in Tanganyika at the end of the war – and forced labor for private advantage.

Christian leaders, both British and African, had been badly mistreated by German soldiers during the war, and after the war almost all German missionaries were expelled. However, beginning in the 1920s there was a dramatic increase in membership in Christian churches where the church had already been well established. The faith that grew the most, though, was Islam. The whole coastal region became predominantly Muslim, in the south many Mwera and Makua left Christianity and became Muslim, and much of the mountainous northeast also chose Islam, stretching to Upare and even to Kilimanjaro. Some inland urban areas, particularly Tabora and Ujiji, had already become heavily Muslim, due to the caravan trade and the influence of the Swahili traders. On the threshold of the war, in 1914, there were about 500,000 Muslims and only 81,000 baptized Christians, three-quarters of them Catholic. However, as Iliffe commented, "Since Christians were accepting western education at a pace far exceeding that of Muslims, the hold of Islam in Tanganyika was tenuous."

Asians also benefited, since Britain needed English-speaking clerks in the administration. The Asian population grew from 8,698 in 1912 to 25,144 in 1931. In 1918 they formed the Indian Association in Dar es Salaam, which engaged in a 54-day shop closure in protest against a profits tax and a requirement to keep accounts books in English. This Asian political activity was a stimulus to educated English-speaking Africans in the civil service to also organize, and on March 24, 1922, they formed the Tanganyika Territory African Civil Services Association (TTACSA). This was more of a trade union association rather than one organizing for political nationalism, however.

The interwar period saw change coming at a greater pace, without a concomitant benefit for the African population. The overriding factors were the policy of indirect rule accompanied by the creation of tribe, slowly increasing numbers of settlers, who demanded and obtained greater political power, formation of trade, farmer and worker unions, which led to labor actions, especially the convulsive year of 1937, the restructuring of Tanganyika's economy to an export oriented economy, and the establishment of the African Association in 1929.

More and more rural Africans were being drawn into the new export economy and becoming peasants. A tripartite relationship developed: a) cash crop areas/towns/European plantations, which were fully integrated into the world economy; b) intermediate regions, which supplied food and other services; and c) peripheral regions which supplied migrant labor. A new word was coined in Buhaya, *bashuti* (serfs), those impoverished laborers from surrounding tribes who worked on Bahaya coffee farms.

Indirect rule was the policy in Nigeria and in 1924 Sir Charles Strachey, secretary of the British Colonial Council, urged that this policy be introduced into Tanganyika. In 1925 Sir Donald Cameron was made Governor, after having worked in Nigeria for 17 years. He had Chiefs paid from Native Treasuries rather than the central government, thus setting the territory on the path of indirect rule. Cameron ascribed to theories that it was not good for non-European peoples to be assimilated to European culture, lest they die out as a people. But indirect rule was based on a historical misunderstanding. The British wrongly believed that Tanganyikans belonged to tribes. Tanganyikans created tribes to function within the colonial framework.

Under indirect rule native administration consisted of native authority – Chiefs and councils – native courts, and native treasuries, which collected all taxes, keeping part and sending part to the central government. Chiefs gained tremendous power during the forty years of British administration.

New mythologies of tribal origins were created. Administrators knew that stateless peoples did not have Chiefs and that councils were a completely new innovation. But many Africans had strong personal reasons for supporting new mythologies and the creation of new units that they could lead. Some Chiefs exercised their authority well; others became very wealthy.

Strachey also wanted to prevent any further European settlement, but some British began buying former German farms/plantations. In 1925 Britain and Germany signed a formal peace treaty and Germans were allowed to return to Tanganyika, which many did. The British administration then encouraged more British to settle in Tanganyika, to minimize German dominance. The number of Europeans had dropped during World War One from 5,000 to 2,500, but then gradually rose to 6,500 in 1939, the majority German. Despite this, European land holdings never exceeded the peak reached in 1937 of 2.75 million acres, 1.3% of the territory's land area.

Sisal became the major export crop. Tanganyika became the lead producer of sisal, the most important fiber crop in the world at that time, and its share of world production had risen in 1938 to 36%. Europeans again took over the majority of the country's exports. With economic power they gained political power, through the Legislative Council, which was created by Cameron in 1926, on which there were a few

unofficial Asian members but no Africans. The Legislative Council remained the premiere parliamentary-type body in Tanganyika up till Independence.

Regarding growing rural African consciousness and their need for greater unity Iliffe explains:

European control, taxation, acceptance of world religions, and production for the market began to extend peasant status in German times, but it was in the 1920s that peasant societies appeared inland, notably in Kilimanjaro and Buhaya. African farmers (i.e. those who employ non-family labor and are chiefly concerned with the wider market) emerged in Kilimanjaro, and landlords and traders in Buhaya, but there were striking similarities. Among its consequences were the new forms of political action which occurred at this time in those two places.

In Kilimanjaro in 1923 British settlers had formed the Kilimanjaro Planters Association, to deter Chagga from growing coffee. In response, the Chagga formed two associations, the Native Shopkeepers Association and the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association (KNPA), led by Joseph Merinyo, a well-educated Christian. The purpose of the latter association was to market coffee collectively.

A new District Commissioner (D.C.), F. C. Hallier, came from South Africa and opened the lower slopes of Kilimanjaro to European settlers, greatly angering the Chagga. In 1929, the Administration forced the KNPA to be replaced by the government controlled Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU). In the 1930s, as a result of the worldwide depression, prices for coffee dropped dramatically. Union members suspected corruption and Merinyo was imprisoned for several years. But the large coffee growers were demanding change. Finally, on September 18, 1937, Moshi was hit with severe violence as huge mobs tried to destroy several KNCU go-downs.

In Buhaya, similar association formation was taking place, with the establishment of the Bukoba Bahaya Union by Haya clerks in 1924. By the 1930s this was dominated by Bahaya traders and evolved into the Native Growers Association in 1935. Peasant grievances culminated in February, 1937, when several destructive riots broke out throughout Buhaya. The grievances were ostensibly due to new rules regarding coffee, which would have reduced Haya coffee-growers' incomes, and the lack of participation in creating these new rules.

Strong Administration response represented on one hand a great set-back for African demands but on the other hand an important advance in political consciousness. African peasants realized they could not defeat colonial rulers. Iliffe comments: "They had acted as peasants in attacking local institutions rather than the government or the world market, which they could not either touch or understand."

Similar foment was happening among workers in urban areas, and to a much lesser extent on sisal plantations. Between 1929 and 1947 urban workers gradually learned that a strong labor movement needed long-term leaders, group solidarity, and a wider national consciousness. However, Asians were the first to start labor unions in the

1930s, the Union of Shop Assistants and the Sikh Carpenters Union. The latter group engaged in the first considerable strike in Tanganyika, also in that pivotal year of 1937.

In 1934 Erica Fiah, the colorful publisher of KWETU, a Swahili newspaper that provided a voice for educated Africans' opinions, formed the African Commercial Association, later the Tanganyika African Welfare and Commercial Association (TAWCA), which disbanded in 1942, however.

Labor action came primarily from the dockworkers, who formed the African Labor Union in Dar es Salaam in 1937 (which ended the same year). However, it was the dockworkers in Tanga who held the first strike, over low wages in August, 1939. They asked for and briefly received support from the nearby sisal workers. The strike failed, but it was the first common rural/urban action since the Abushiri Rebellion.

In 1939 a union of cooks and house servants was formed in Dodoma and spread to Dar es Salaam in 1941. It was led by Saleh bin Fundi, a charismatic leader and speaker, who noted the weaknesses of the budding labor movement.

Other unions and associations were started in the 1940s, of teachers, government servants, and drivers. Railway workers had started a union in 1929. But none of these were effective as labor unions.

In August, 1943, the dockworkers of Dar es Salaam engaged in a more serious ten-day strike that included the permanent workers (most dockworkers were on standby or temporary). The British administration cracked down hard, arresting 143 permanent workers, some of whom were permanently dismissed. Labor union weaknesses proved Saleh bin Fundi's main points: the need for Leadership, Solidarity, and Organization.

From 1912 to 1937 the number of Africans in wage labor had increased from 140,000 to 244,000, but most of this was in the sisal plantations, where wages were very low and conscripted labor was necessary. African cash crop income had declined precipitously. The African population in Dar es Salaam doubled from 25,000 in 1939 to 50,000 in 1948, but at least one-third were unemployed. The derogatory Swahili term *wahuni* (ruffians, layabouts) described the many young men doing nothing in the town. Average wage for African workers was Shs. 15/- (\$3.00) a month. African education also suffered, and it seemed that the British administration was not interested in providing Africans with a European education. Conversely, the administration gave preferential attention to settlers, especially Governor Sir Mark Young (1938-41), who encouraged the Central Development Committee to stress European farming and increase White settlement.

Iliffe describes the impending crisis in colonial rule thusly:

As the war progressed, discontent with shortages, inflation and regimentation grew. In towns, low wages and bad food were augmented by housing shortages. Food rationing and price control regulations, called FST (First, Second, Third) were re-translated as 'Fool them, Swindle them, Twist their tails.' Educated Africans were becoming more aware of events and new ideas in the wider world. Whereas previously African protest was aimed at Chiefs or cooperatives, now it was aimed directly at the British. The trend towards big government during the crisis years was an important stimulus to nationalism.

This dynamic came to a head on September 6, 1947, when a huge strike was started by Dar's dockworkers, a strike that quickly turned into a general strike directed against the Government. The Administration responded with a draconian crackdown: scores were arrested; hundreds of special police were called out; lorries were used to recruit from African townships those willing to work. On September 14th support for the strike faltered and the strike basically ended the next day. However, it continued for a while upcountry, in the towns of Morogoro, Tabora and Mwanza, and at the Groundnut Scheme in Kongwa. In October there was a strike at the lead mines in Mpanda.

As a result wages were increased by 40% to 50%, workers recognized their need for comprehensive solidarity, and the Dockworkers Union was registered on January 3, 1948. But even more serious unrest was to come later, especially the riots of 1950, the worst ever in Dar es Salaam.

In January, 1929, the settlers formed the European Association, advocating closer union between Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda (to be led solely by Europeans, naturally). This move re-invigorated the Asian Association and spurred educated Africans in Dar es Salaam to form the African Association. Many members of the TTACSA joined the African Association. Its first president was Cecil Matola, who unfortunately died in 1931. The AA was made up not only of government clerks, but people from all social segments of African urban society. The divergent interests of the various social groups made unity of purpose difficult to obtain, even though the association's motto was "Unity is Strength."

The association's first minor foray into politics, a request to Governor Cameron for some African representation in territorial questions was firmly repudiated by Cameron, who told the civil servants they would be sacked if they got involved in politics. In Cameron's opinion the native authorities gave Africans all the political participation they needed. Throughout the 1930s the Dar branch floundered without accomplishing anything.

In the 1930s the association was slowly energized by branches, first in Dodoma, led by Edward Mwangosi, who formed branches in Tabora, Mwanza and Mbeya. In Zanzibar several Christians and former slaves formed a branch and invited the presidents of all the branches to a conference held on May 6, 1939. Between then and 1947 the AA held five conferences, each illustrating growing understanding of the needs of national unity and political representation. However, wartime austerity and obstructionist actions by the Administration made real progress difficult.

In 1944 Hassan Suleiman became Chief Advisor of the Dodoma branch and he contacted Hugh Godfrey Kayamba, a Makerere graduate working in Mwanza, to come to Dodoma. They pressed the Dodoma branch to issue the following recommendations:

- Compulsory primary schooling
- A secondary school in each province
- Expansion of girls' education to Makerere entrance level
- Scholarships to overseas universities
- Instead of spending money on European settlers, use it to transform African agriculture
- Encourage domestic industries

- Above all, Africans should have direct representation on the Legislative Council. By 1944, this had become a widespread demand of educated Africans.

A conference was finally held in Dodoma in March, 1945, and issued a document stating the above demands. However, the Dodoma branch ran out of money and headquarters was returned to Dar es Salaam. Fifty-four branches came into existence, with over 2,000 members, and were very active in important places, such as Moshi, Bukoba, Arusha, Pangani, and Pare. However, between 1945 and 1948 fragmentation within branches and branch focus on parochial issues led to the decline and effective demise of the African Association.

It is of interest to note, though, the initial foray of Julius Nyerere into nationalist politics. While at Makerere University, from which he graduated in 1945, he had formed a branch of the AA on the campus. At the conference held in Dar es Salaam in April, 1946, (Nyerere was by then a 24-year-old teacher at St. Mary High School in Tabora and he represented the Tabora branch of AA) he made a recommendation emblematic of increasingly significant advances in political consciousness. He recommended elections of members of councils at the level of townships and chiefdoms, from which elected representatives would go up through districts and provinces to a Legislative Council, with one African representative from each of the eight provinces.

Iliffe comments that “by 1947 the African Association possessed all the elements of nationalism except the determination, the techniques, and the popular support to seize power. (However) the idea of unity would survive organizational collapse.”

After World War II the League of Nations collapsed, and with it the Tanganyika Mandate ceased to exist. Under American pressure, Britain agreed to administer Tanganyika under a trusteeship agreement with the United Nations, which bound Britain to prepare Tanganyika for independence. The agreement also empowered the UN to send visiting missions and to receive petitions from the territory’s inhabitants.

By 1945 the population had begun to grow at a slightly faster pace. In 1945 there were 5.8 million people; in 1926 when the population began to grow again there were 4.5 million, and in 1900 before all the catastrophes there were an estimated 3.9 million. Thus from 1900 to 1945 the population had grown by only 49% in 45 years, slightly over one percent a year. After 1945 Tanganyika’s population would grow much faster – growing by 78% in the next fifteen years up till 1960, to around 10.3 million (around three percent a year).

[Author note: in 1946 the problem of fast population growth had not yet been perceived as a problem affecting development and poverty, especially given Tanganyika’s large land area and relatively small population. But this book takes the view of the second Vatican Council’s document *Gaudium et Spes* that reducing the women’s fertility rate and spacing childbirth are valuable objectives that each family and developing nation should pursue. From the 1950s through the 1980s Tanganyika’s and all of East Africa’s population grew rapidly due to lowered infant mortality rates and greater longevity, as a result of wider access to health care, treatment for malaria, eradication of tsetse fly, and a huge increase in education for girls. Fertility rates drop more slowly; in Tanganyika the rate was over seven live births per woman in 1970 but was down to 4.16 in 2010, and the population growth rate was down to two percent.

But it should be dutifully noted that Tanganyika's very low population growth rate in the century's first half was not accompanied by development or prosperity. It can be arguably claimed that the opposite is the case: promote development first and then the population growth rate will come down. More will be said about this later.]

It was into this context of ferment and tumult, therefore, that the four new Maryknollers arrived in October, 1946. However, they were not at first concerned with nationalist politics. Their immediate concerns were to get situated in a new continent, adjust to a very different culture, and learn new and difficult tribal languages.

Nyegina and Kowak Parishes:

August 26, 1946, at last the eventful day arrived: the four intrepid Maryknollers embarked on their two-month trip to Tanganyika on the freighter The Good Hope Castle. Lou Bayless and Joe Brannigan had been ordained on June 9th and for the next two months they along with Bill Collins and Bert Good prepared and packed over twenty boxes of clothing and other necessary goods. A White Father living in the United States, Fr. LaFils, had written a long list of things they would need and, in fact, he was going on the same ship with them.

By mid-August the four were scattered throughout the United States but on August 20th Father Considine informed them to come to New York immediately with all their belongings. Fortunately, the steamship company postponed the sailing date until the following Monday, August 26th. Bert Good described the day of departure:

Father George Daly drove Fathers Collins, Good, and Bayless through the colonnaded streets of New York City to Pier 38, Brooklyn. Father Joe Brannigan arrived under his own power. (He spent the last few days with his family in Brooklyn, not far from the pier.) A small group of Maryknollers and friends were at the pier to see them off, among whom were Fathers George Gilligan and Hugh Byrne, a number of Maryknoll students, four Maryknoll Sisters from St. Anthony's in the Bronx, Father Pat Killeen of Our Lady of Angels in the Bronx, some members of the Good family, and some members of the Brannigan family. At 4:00 pm the four missionaries boarded the ship, farewells were made, the gang plank lifted, and the vessel took to sea.

The trip turned into a very long safari, two months in all to their destination point of Nyegina Parish, about ten miles from the lakeside town of Musoma, although from New York to Cape town, South Africa, took only three weeks. After arriving in Cape Town they discovered how lacking Maryknoll's knowledge of African geography was. They had expected to take a train from Cape Town to Mwanza, Tanganyika, a trip of about 2000 miles by air, longer by train – if there was a train. But there was no train! The three White Fathers on the boat (two priests and one Brother) were going to drive up to Tanganyika.

Because their boat journey ended in Cape Town, the Maryknollers had to scurry to devise an alternative means to reach Dar es Salaam. Furthermore, the Cook Travel

Agency informed them that there was no boat traveling from Cape Town up the eastern side of Africa, information that turned out to be false. They would have to take a train to Durban, South Africa's largest port, 800 miles northeast of Cape Town. They barely had enough money for booking the train and paying to have their voluminous luggage sent on by boat, and sent a telegram to the General Council in New York to wire money to them in Durban. And lo and behold: after arrival in Durban – following a 1500 mile train ride through the wilds of South Africa's Great Karroo, “millions of ant hills” according to Good – they discovered that the boat they were going to take from Durban was en route from Cape Town!

Despite these perturbations, the four wayfarers, with great equanimity, turned adversity into advantage. They received wonderful hospitality from clergy and religious all along their journey, such as in Cape Town from the many friends of Collins who had worked in Rome with him and from the American Oblates of Mary Immaculate working in and around Durban. They also had stops of some length in Lourenco Marques (modern Maputo) and Beira in Mozambique, and then for ten days in Mombasa. The ship's captain had received orders to bypass Dar es Salaam, due to an overload of ships in the small harbor, and head straight for Mombasa first, then return to Dar. But as this line was the American South Africa Line the officers and crew took pains to make sure the passengers had good recreational opportunities both on board the ship and on land during all the stops. On this segment of their voyage they also met a young Catholic woman of Greek nationality, Theo Scordoulis, who was working in Nairobi, Kenya, and was the secretary of the Legion of Mary in Kenya. It would be only two months later that Collins and Good would meet the whole Scordoulis family in Nairobi.

Over the ensuing years at least one new missionary wrote a diary each year of the trip from New York to Tanganyika. Most of these diaries are similar; about trying to overcome boredom on the long trip at sea, observations about the other passengers, on the length of the journeys, usually from two to three months, and of appreciation for the opportunity to see other parts of Africa. Some commented on the racial separation in South Africa, such as Joe Glynn in 1947, saying, “In South Africa, one of the first things to impress a visitor is the definite color line between Natives, Asians, and European. This distinction is not so pronounced as one proceeds up the coast to Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) and British East Africa (Tanganyika and Kenya).” It should be noted that this was prior to the Nationalist Party coming to power in South Africa in 1948, when racial separation became worse, with the passage of the most draconian apartheid laws in the early 1950s.

In 1947, once again the boat went from South Africa to Mombasa, without stopping at Dar es Salaam. As there was space for only one to go back to Dar, Glynn went via Kenya to Lake Victoria and then down to Musoma, while Ed Bratton returned to Dar es Salaam and took the train to Mwanza. After comparing the two routes of travel it was recommended that new Maryknollers normally make Mombasa their final destination by boat. This became especially true when Tom Quirk became Society Superior in 1951 and lived in Nairobi. In 1952 plans were formalized to build a society center house in Nairobi and this became the most convenient place for new Maryknollers to stop for a few days before proceeding on to Musoma.

In the 1950s, as air travel became more efficient and common, and as the first Maryknollers in Africa were coming up for furlough, travel back to the U.S. was done by

plane. The original commercial plane was the DC-3, which could not go all the way to Europe without refueling. Maryknollers became used to stopping in places such as Khartoum and Cairo before passing through Europe. They also regularly spent some time in Europe before going on to the U.S. But taking a week or two from East Africa to New York rather than two or three months was a huge improvement. The final ordination group that traveled by boat was in 1969. Beginning in 1970, all Maryknollers, whether new or experienced missionaries, went to their missions by plane. Air fare had become comparable to or even cheaper than travel on freighters.

The first group in 1946 finally reached Dar es Salaam on October 15th, where they were welcomed by the White Fathers. After staying there a few days they took the train from Dar to Mwanza, itself an interesting journey. Brannigan in an interview remembered that:

It was a wood-burning train with an open platform in back. It went thirteen miles an hour when it was speeding and you could walk alongside it when it was going up a hill, if you wanted to get off the train. One day while I was standing on the platform my shirt caught on fire from a piece of wood that came out of the chimney – and put a big hole in my shirt. We went through tsetse fly country and naturally had to sleep with mosquito nets on our beds.

When we arrived in Mwanza Bishop Antoine Oomen was there to meet us. We were dressed in lay clothes, which really shook him, because no one dressed like that, no priest or missionary. He had a tough time talking to us.

He said, “You’re going to an awful place, you’re going up to Musoma.” He hated the place. His stories made us feel we should get back on a boat and go back home again.

After a day or two they embarked on a lake steamer from Mwanza to Musoma, arriving in Musoma on October 21, 1946 (or possibly October 23rd, but the 21st is the accepted date). Again there were mishaps, as no one was there to meet them. Fortunately, the head of police was a Catholic and helped the four of them clear their baggage off the boat and instructed them how to get to Nyegina, ten miles out of Musoma. They went into the business section of the town and met an Indian merchant, the famous Nanak Chand, who will probably be mentioned from time to time in this history. He arranged for a lorry (a large truck, generally seven to ten tons in the Musoma area) to take them and their baggage to Nyegina. Finally that afternoon they arrived in Nyegina, to be met by the pastor, Fr. Aloys Junker, who had not received any information on when the Maryknollers were coming. But the White Fathers broke out the wine and gave the new missionaries a royal welcome.

The three members of the White Fathers in Nyegina were the pastor Fr. Aloys Junker, an assistant priest Fr. Joseph (or Josef) Van Riel, who was also the Education Secretary and Vicar-General of Musoma-Maswa Vicariate, and Brother Wilfrid (nee Frans De Kok), who oversaw building projects. The mission at Nyegina itself was well developed, containing a large, strongly constructed rectory, a church, and in back of the rectory an enclosed quadrangle that had a kitchen and other rooms for mission usage in back. Down below the rectory was a large primary school (or two schools, as the school

was divided, one for boys and one for girls; the schools went to Standard Four only, fourth grade) and a small dispensary. Junker was responsible for both the schools and dispensary. Furthermore, just six days after the Maryknollers arrival in Nyegina hundreds of Catholics, some coming from up to thirty miles away, worshiped joyfully at the Masses on the feast of All Saints on November 1st. Lou Bayless, who wrote the first diary from Nyegina at the end of November, gushed enthusiastically at the growth of Christianity:

The edifying devotion of these lovable people might easily fill the heart of any pastor in the States with a holy joy and a rightful pride. I am convinced after my short time here at the Nyegina Mission that the work of the Maryknollers will not be the planting of the seed or the laborious cultivation of this field, but rather the nurturing of this already flourishing mission which the White Fathers have so well developed. However, round about us there is plenty of work to be done on the ground, that is, the establishment of more missions with resident priests.

The statistics bear out the last sentence in Bayless' comment and belie the claim that much work had been done – except in the vicinities of the two parishes, Nyegina and Kowak (more will be said about Kowak below). In 1946 there were about 3,095 Catholics in Nyegina and another 5,139 Catholics in Kowak. The population of Musoma District was given as 254,732 in the 1948 census, thus Catholics were only about 3% of the population. There were only five priests in all of Musoma, and one of them was full time in handling the economic matters of the White Fathers in this district.

Carney gives the following reasons why the White Fathers were unable to give more attention to Musoma:

(Their) preoccupation with their work in Mwanza, their limited sources of personnel, and the difficulties of travel within the civil district of Musoma, especially when one's base was in Mwanza to the south, contributed to very little being done in active church work in the Musoma region other than at Nyegina and Kowak. Another factor that discouraged extensive mission work in Musoma without adequate personnel resources was the number and complexity of the languages among the peoples of Musoma region.

Musoma was popularly known as the land of the twelve tribes, of which one was the Nilotic Luo and the others Bantu. [In fact, there seems to have been even more than twelve tribes.] The latter languages were just different enough that knowing one would not enable an American to hear or speak another. The Bantu groups could be divided into two general groups: the Kuria group, which included the Bakuria, Basimbiti, Bazanaki and Bangorimi, which had been influenced by Nilotic/Cushitic practices in the previous two to three centuries, and the Bakerewe/Bajita group, which included the Bakwaya, the local group around Musoma and Nyegina. Other smaller tribes were the Basuba, Baredi, Baikoma and Baikizu. In addition, Kiswahili was the language of Musoma town, as well as the national language, and the Wasukuma were already migrating into the southern part of Musoma District, in the vicinity of the small town of Bunda, just north of the Serengeti Park.

Thus, there was a ton of work to be done, but not right away. The Maryknoll General Council made very clear that the first priorities were to learn the local languages well, understand the local cultures, and assimilate the catechetical methods of the White Fathers. For the first six months they were not to do any work other than this. Every month in letters to Collins the Maryknoll Vicar-General, Fr. Tom Walsh, reiterated these admonitions. There were two things, though, that were addressed in the first week: after discussion it was decided that Good and Brannigan would immediately go to Kowak, Good to learn the Luo language and Brannigan to learn Kikuria, while Collins and Bayless would remain at Nyegina learning Kikwaya; and Collins wrote to the Superior General, Bishop Raymond Lane (Lane had just become Superior General on August 7, 1946), recommending that the Maryknollers first obtain motorcycles and then vehicles as soon as feasible, rather than use bicycles or travel on foot to go out to distant outstations. In the immediate aftermath of the World War II some of the White Fathers still had to report to the British authorities in Musoma town every week and thus could not plan to travel far from the mission. Thus, bicycles and motorcycles were sufficient. Maryknollers felt that greater mobility was essential.

Let us first take a short excursus to look at the establishment of the Catholic Church in Tanganyika and the division of various parts of the country among several missionary societies. [Sources for this section are: J. Carney, work cited; John Baur, work cited; Albert De Jong, "Father Michael Witte: A Study in Mission Strategy;" Lawrence M. Njoroge, "A Century of Catholic Endeavor: Holy Ghost and Consolata Missions in Kenya;" J. Iliffe, work cited; and material from the Tanzania Catholic Secretariat.]

With the fall of Fort Jesus in Mombasa in 1698 and expulsion of the Portuguese, there was no further Christian presence in East Africa until the middle of the 19th century. During this time the Sultan of Oman ruled East Africa's coast and in 1840 Sultan Seyyid Said moved his headquarters from Oman to Zanzibar, in order to better develop the clove industry. At the same time the British Navy was patrolling the Indian Ocean to enforce the ban on the slave trade that Britain had passed in 1807. In order to keep Zanzibar the center of trade and politics in East Africa Sultan Seyyid invited Britain, France and the United States to open consulates on the island, but was forced to sign two treaties, the Moresby Treaty in 1822 and the Hamerton Treaty in 1845, which severely restricted him in the oceanic slave trade. A third treaty, the Frere Treaty, was signed in 1873 with Sultan Seyyid Barghash, Said's second son, which totally abolished the slave trade. Coincidentally, this latter treaty occurred shortly after a hurricane destroyed the clove crop in 1872 on Zanzibar. The combination of these two events left the Sultan economically destroyed (c.f. above, the economic basis of the Arab revolts of 1888).

However, slavery was not abolished within Zanzibar or on the Tanganyika coast and up to 60,000 slaves were sold in Zanzibar's slave market every year. As a result, rescuing slaves became the *raison d'être* of the missionaries who came to East Africa, the Anglican Church Mission Society (CMS) in 1844 and Catholics in 1860. The various Sultans welcomed the missionaries, who were also establishing schools and hospitals, supported their efforts to set up free villages for rescued slaves (Arabs profited from this by constantly selling slaves to the missionaries), and even donated money to the missionaries. The sources do not elucidate on the Sultans' motives, but they probably viewed European missionaries and European colonial authorities as essentially the same

entity. Baur says, “The Sultans tolerated the Christian missions as part of their trade policy.”

Seyyid Said died in 1856. Two years later two groups of Catholic churchmen visited the new Sultan, Seyyid Majid, who gave them a good welcome. One group was Capuchin, who wished to make contact with the Galla (Oromo) people of southern Ethiopia by traveling from the East African coast. This proved unfeasible, however. The other was the Vicar General of Reunion, Fr. Armand Fava, whose Bishop, Armand Maupoint, wished to investigate the possibility of opening a Catholic mission in Zanzibar. Sultan Majid was in favor, and Fr. Fava was also supported by the French government. On December 22, 1860, Fava, two other priests, two Brothers, six Sisters, a doctor and some workers arrived in Zanzibar. They very quickly opened a hospital, a pharmacy, workshops, and schools. They began redeeming African slave children and by 1862 there were two dozen boys and girls learning at the mission station.

Bishop Maupoint realized he did not have the financial and personnel resources to continue the Zanzibar mission and asked the Holy Ghost Congregation to take on this task. In June, 1863, two Holy Ghost priests, Anton Horner and Edward Bauer, and two Brothers came to Zanzibar. They set up orphanages for the freed slave children, but in 1868 they made the decision to move everything to Bagamoyo on the mainland. For the next thirty years operating the village for freed slaves became the primary method of evangelization and gaining of converts. Bagamoyo became a model mission, praised by visitors such as Livingstone and Stanley. Over 200 children received academic, industrial or agricultural training, depending on their academic abilities. Forty couples lived in a special Christian village, following a semi-monastic routine of work and pray. The Holy Ghost Fathers also taught their villagers to farm coffee, brought from Reunion, the first time this crop was grown in East Africa.

Chiefs from inland, such as Morogoro and Kilimanjaro, invited the Holy Ghost missionaries to start mission stations, which was done by 1895. The Chiefs were interested primarily in education in new skills in agriculture and handicrafts, but the missionaries modeled the new missions after the Catholic village in Bagamoyo. Newly married former slaves from Bagamoyo accompanied the priests as catechists, when they went to open new missions.

However, model villages had to be abandoned as a method of evangelization by the end of the century. Not only the slave trade but slavery itself was forbidden by the colonial administrations, eliminating the original rationale for the villages. Few Africans from outside the villages were showing any interest in Christianity, perceiving it as a religion of slaves. Many of the children in the villages, as they became adults, resented the paternalistic control over their lives. (The harsh punishment given by the CMS missionaries in their villages produced even worse results.) Although the Holy Ghost priests started seminaries they obtained not even one ordination, mainly due to the rule of celibacy. By the 1890s there were over fifty such villages in East Africa (this figure includes Protestant villages, villages in both Tanganyika and Kenya, and villages started by the White Fathers in western Tanganyika). But the missionaries had become convinced that a new method of evangelizing the wider African community was needed.

Baur states:

The alternative was to go to the villages and open bush-schools run by catechists. Even if the adults likely rejected the faith, the children would accept it and would found a future Christian society. The Christian village gave way to the ideal of a “Christian nation.”

As De Jong wrote, summarized at the beginning of this book, the second period of evangelization in East Africa had begun, and would last to the mid-1920s. Although he describes the third period as the concentration on church-administered schools as vehicles of evangelization and creation of a highly educated African Catholic elite, the use of catechists in bush schools lasted right up to the post-Independence era. It was mainly the Holy Ghost missionaries who used schools as the means of evangelization. The White Fathers did not eschew the value of formal schools, but they gained great success through their methods of direct evangelization, use of catechists, and promotion of an indigenous priesthood.

Baur addresses the question of why Africans became willing converts to Christianity:

The scarcity of available sources (does) not permit us to give a clearer picture of the motives for the conversion of the first African Christians. May it suffice here to point to the repeated experience that when World War I forced the missionaries to leave, the faith of the newly converted Christians stuck. The local leaders and teacher-catechists were able to carry on basic church work and increase their flock considerably.

Cameroonian historian Fr. Engelbert Mveng concludes: “The issue of the conversion of Africa to Christianity by far transcends the quarrels of imperialism. This conversion has not been the work of treaties, or of military or cultural conquests. It touches on the substance of the human person.”

The Vicariate of Zanzibar (called Zanguebar) was started on November 12, 1862, and then subdivided in 1887. The southern half was given to German Benedictines, who placed their center in Dar es Salaam. In 1906 German Tanganyika was put under the Vicariate of Bagamoyo, whereas the Vicariate of Zanguebar continued to oversee missions in Kenya (British). In 1932 the Holy Ghost Congregation divided up their mission territories among nationalities, with Kenya going to the Irish, Bagamoyo to the Dutch, and Kilimanjaro to Americans.

The Vicariate of Kilimanjaro was started in 1910 and it was here that the Holy Ghost Fathers had their greatest success. According to Baur, the Chagga worshiped the one God (Ruwa), symbolized by the mountain, had no recourse to intermediary spirits, and were already monogamous. Thus, Christian moral teachings were easily accepted by them. The Holy Ghost Fathers also introduced the art of coffee growing to the Chagga, an enterprise they avidly made their own. Precious Blood Sisters accompanied the Holy Ghost Fathers and have run some of the premiere girls’ high schools in East Africa.

South Zanguebar, a prefecture for the first fifteen years, was re-named the Vicariate of Dar es Salaam on August 10, 1906, and made an Archdiocese on March 25, 1953. In Dar es Salaam the Benedictines opened two villages for freed slaves and in 1902 completed construction of the landmark St. Joseph Cathedral, which overlooks the

harbor. The Benedictines original method had been to build monasteries, such as at Pugu, but Maurus Hartmann, the Prefect from 1894 to 1902, adopted the missionary strategy of Cardinal Lavigerie of the White Fathers, sending his priests out to start mission stations. In southern Tanganyika, the Benedictines were invited by the warlike Ngoni to start a mission in Peramiho (1898), which has remained till today one of the foremost centers of Catholic communications and liturgical innovation. The famous Chief of the Hehe, Mkwawa, invited them to open a mission at Tosamaganga (1897), near Iringa. These two tribes, which fought militantly against German colonial control, had no trouble distinguishing the German Benedictines as religious leaders who would help their people. Bishop Thomas Spreiter (1906 to 1920) gave priority to education, and many schools were opened by the Benedictines, especially by Fr. Gallus Steiger in Dodoma District. After the war, Steiger became the Bishop of Lindi.

The First World War ended German Benedictine plans, as all German missionaries were expelled from Tanganyika, and the Vicariate of Dar es Salaam was divided. Several Swiss Benedictines started a new group and were given responsibility of the Prefecture of Lindi. The Consolata Fathers were entrusted with Iringa-Dodoma. And Dar es Salaam was handed over to Swiss Capuchins. Two other religious orders who arrived in the inter-war period were the Passionists and the Pallotines. In 1926 German missionaries were allowed back to the country, and the Benedictines went to Nanda and Peramiho (Songea Diocese) in the south.

Dar es Salaam became the seat of two very famous Bishops, Capuchin Archbishop Edgar Maranta from 1930 to 1968, and Cardinal Laorean Rugambwa from 1968 to 1992. More will be said about them later, in conjunction with Maryknoll's move to Dar es Salaam in the 1950s (Tanganyika Episcopal Conference) and 1960s (Chang'ombe Parish).

The third group of the nineteenth century to evangelize Tanganyika was the White Fathers, now called the Missionaries of Africa (M.Afr.). In 1878 two groups traveled to the Great Lakes, led by Fr. Livinhac, who later became the Superior General of the White Fathers, one to Lake Tanganyika and the other to Lake Victoria and Kampala. In Uganda, due to fears of foreign invasion, the mercurial and savage rule of the Kabaka Mwanga, and the Arab-Christian war from 1888 to 1894, the White Fathers had to make Masaka their headquarters, where they had phenomenal success. At Lake Tanganyika they first stopped at Ujiji, but due to its control by Arab-Swahili slave traders they went up to Burundi and then to the Congo side. Massanje was the first mission established on the Congo side in 1880, but then a larger mission was built at Kibanga in 1883. This had to be abandoned in 1893 and moved to Baudouinville, which had been established in 1885, and which achieved great success.

In Tanganyika, the first permanent White Fathers mission was established at Karema in 1885 on the southeastern shore of Lake Tanganyika. This was made the Vicariate of Tanganyika under Bishop Jean-Baptiste Charbonnier in 1887 and succeeded in making the Wafipa people a Christian nation. Currently the Diocese is located at Sumbawanga.

Tabora, which today is a flourishing Archdiocese, was started also in 1887, as the Vicariate of Unyanyembe. Since Tabora was an overwhelmingly Islamic town, founded by Arabs in 1852, the White Fathers did not achieve much success there, except among some of the Wasumbwa people. Tabora became an important center for the White

Fathers, where a major seminary was established at Kipalapala and the TMP publishing and printing plant was built. However, the diocese had its growth in the number of Christians only after World War II. The Vicariate was named Tabora in 1925 and made an Archdiocese on March 25, 1953.

As mentioned before, Mwanza began as the Vicariate of South Nyanza in 1880 and two missions were established at Bukumbi and Nyegezi, near Mwanza. In the nineteenth century these were little more than communities for liberated slave children. The Wasukuma people resisted Christianity up till at least the 1950s. In 1950 only 3.6% of the population of the Vicariate was Catholic and most of these Catholics were in the Ukerewe Islands, on which several missions were established in the 1890s.

As a result, when Bishop Jean-Joseph Hirth arrived in 1892, he focused on the Bahaya people around Bukoba, bringing from Uganda fifty Baganda catechists. He built a seminary in Rubya in 1903, which produced seven ordained priests in 1917, the first African priests in Tanganyika, two of whom were from Mwanza. In 1929 Bukoba became a separate Vicariate, the same year that Mwanza was re-named the Vicariate of Mwanza. In 1952, Laurean Rugambwa, who had been ordained a priest in Bukoba, was ordained a Bishop, Tanganyika's first African Bishop, and given a new diocese in Rutabo, his birthplace. A Missionary of Africa (White Father) was Bishop in Bukoba and was not yet ready to resign. Maryknoll Father Ed Hayes explains that "Rutabo was all African priests, no missionaries, and evidently moved ahead fast in self-support." In 1960 Rugambwa was elected the first African Cardinal from the whole continent and moved into Bukoba, where he remained Cardinal-Bishop up till 1968. In 1968 he became Cardinal-Archbishop of Dar es Salaam.

The role that African catechists played in the evangelization and catechesis of Kilimanjaro, Morogoro, western Tanganyika and Uganda in the early decades of the twentieth century is especially noted by Baur in his history of Christianity in Africa and by the Tanzania Episcopal Conference. The TEC bemoans the state of catechists today, whose prestige has fallen due to poor education.

In 1945, according to Carney, the Vicariate of Mwanza had an area of 66,112 square kilometers (about 23,800 square miles) and a population of 900,000, of whom 30,000 were Catholic. However, the White Fathers had put in good foundations for church establishment and growth: 175 schools (of which 130 were bush schools), three hospitals, 15 dispensaries, five orphanages and a minor seminary at Nyegezi. There were 50 priests in the Vicariate, twelve of whom were African, twelve Brothers, nineteen Sisters, 278 catechists and 78 school teachers (a small number of both latter groups were women). There were fifteen seminarians at the major seminary at Kipalapala in Tabora.

Thus, when the Maryknollers arrived in Nyegina in October, 1946, close to seventy years of missionary work had been done and they were able to start their own mission outreach on a firm footing. Because Good and Brannigan departed for Kowak in less than a week, we will first look at the lives and activities of Collins and Bayless in Nyegina, beginning with their study of the Kwaya language. At the end of their first full month (November, 1946) Bayless wrote a very long diary, followed by long diaries in each of the subsequent months written by one or the other. The diaries give us our best look at those first two years of adjusting to life and mission in western Tanganyika.

Bayless and Brannigan were also interviewed by the Maryknoll History Project and even though forty years had passed their remembrances are very helpful.

One important note of interest is that, despite the repeated counsel of the Maryknoll General Council not to do any work in the first six months except learn language, the Maryknollers began doing pastoral and sacramental work in the first month: celebrating Sunday Mass, including singing the High Mass, observing infant baptisms and by the end of the first month doing infant baptisms, blessing cemeteries, and baptizing a dying woman. Of course, Mass and other sacraments were done in Latin in that pre-Vatican Council era, enabling the new priests to preside at Mass. However, they could not preach nor hear confessions until some months later.

The White Fathers, all of whom but one were Dutch (Fr. Erwin Binder in Kowak was German), were of the opinion, expressly stated by Bishop Joseph Blomjous to the Maryknoll General Council, that Bantu and Nilotic tribal languages were not difficult, certainly when compared to the Oriental languages. As Carney states, and many other Maryknollers have said, this opinion turned out not to be true. The White Fathers also thought that missionaries learned the language by doing pastoral work and visiting the people, without any need for a formal course. The Dutch are renowned for their ability to learn many languages well and in Holland it is easy to meet many who speak English with only a slight accent. But Maryknollers who have learned Bantu languages have observed that Americans have a very difficult time understanding Dutch priests speaking a Bantu language, because of their strong accents, although the Africans understand them. It is probably a case that Africans, adults at least, learn how to accommodate to the European (and American) accents and ungrammatical ways of speaking their languages and, out of courtesy, do not correct them.

[Author note: one or two Mill Hill priests in Kenya, either Dutch or Tyrolean, said to me in the late 1970s that they recognized the validity of learning tribal languages in a formal course. They functioned well in tribal languages, but had strong accents.]

In the first week, Bayless and Collins began learning the Kwaya language from a local man, Michael Kitanda, who was blind. The disadvantage was that he did not speak English, so in December Bayless switched to a young man, a former seminarian, named Robert Bellarmine, who spoke some English. Collins later joined this group, although Kitanda continued to help them. By mid-December, after less than two months, Bayless was becoming responsible for more and more parish responsibilities, despite being far from proficient in Kikwaya. Similar observations can be made about Bert Good in Dholuo and Joe Brannigan in Kikuria, the respective languages they were learning in North Mara. By December, all three were becoming very involved in pastoral duties; much of Collins' time was taken up with Maryknoll procuration, administration, and letter-writing to the General Council in New York. Bayless explained that:

We didn't have any formal courses. It was just Michael and Robert who gave us lessons in Kikwaya, and they were very good. We would get some phrases down, go out several times a week with the language informant to visit the Kwaya people, and try to use those phrases. That was a great help, but it was just touch and go because we didn't have any formal language training there. The White Fathers were also on hand to guide us and to give us help when it was needed.

Lack of a formal language course was only one problem. Musoma's many languages presented an even greater obstacle, as Bayless discovered in 1951 when he was assigned to be pastor in the new parish of Iramba, where the language was Kingorime. He says:

Well, I didn't get much Kingorime; just made a stab at it. It wasn't too bad to get into Kingirime. But it was interesting: the people who were going to confession had been trained in Nyegina and knew Kikwaya. They knew how to go to confession, the prayers, and everything in Kikwaya. Then they had to relearn them in Kingorime. It was interesting for a few years there, because they preferred to use Kikwaya. I knew Kikwaya, so it wasn't so bad and we got along very well. I wasn't proficient in Kingorime, although I could understand a little. So, that was difficult.

This was not the end of it for Bayless. After his furlough in 1953 he was assigned with the new group going to start Shinyanga/Maswa Diocese in 1954 and he had to learn the Kisukuma language. Later on he also learned Kiswahili.

In hindsight it seems almost inexplicable why Maryknoll did not institute formal language and inculturation learning right from the beginning in 1946. That a thorough grounding in the language was essential was known in Maryknoll since the 1920s, with its experience in Asia. Carney quotes Considine saying: "It seems to me that the language is the key. Others say the same. The man who studies thoroughly the language must necessarily get the milieu." Considine went on to write that when missionaries get discouraged it is not due to lack of zeal or charity, but inability to talk properly and understand the people. He recommended that every country have a one or two-year language course for new missionaries and that Rome lead the way in making this recommendation. When Considine wrote this in 1933 the Maryknoll missions in Asia were already contemplating the opening of language schools in their various countries. Additionally, in 1946 the Maryknoll General Council, as noted above, was constantly advising the new Maryknollers in Tanganyika to do nothing for the first six months but learn the local language.

The Maryknollers who came after 1946 had more of an opportunity to concentrate solely on language-learning, as the original four had the pastoral responsibilities. The latter ran into the perfect maelstrom of beliefs that African languages are relatively easy, the best way to learn them is to go out and talk to people rather than with a formal course, and the anxiousness of the White Fathers to leave Musoma as quickly as possible, in order to concentrate on Maswa and Mwanza. Thus, the Maryknollers in 1946 had no alternative but to start pastoral work as soon as feasibly possible (or even before it was possible). Additionally, the Maryknollers themselves were eager to open new parishes – as more personnel came out – and to fully take over from the White Fathers.

So, the crucial importance of language and culture were recognized by Maryknoll in 1946 but no concrete, practical steps were taken to enable Maryknoll missionaries to become fluent in both areas. Joe Carney has a whole chapter (Chapter Seven) on the evolution from this state of informal language learning to the establishment of the language school in the mid-1960s. Carney mentions the growing chorus of Maryknollers

expressing criticism of the language-learning process, recommendations by individual Maryknollers, formal steps taken by the Maryknoll Africa Region in the late 1950s and 1960s, the initiative of more than a few Maryknollers to study linguistics at universities in America, and an eight-week course organized by Fr. George Pfister, MM, at Maryknoll, NY, in the summer of 1963 in Swahili and linguistics for twelve Maryknoll priests and three Maryknoll Sisters (five of the priests had worked in Shinyanga, three in Musoma, and the other four plus the three Sisters were going to Tanganyika that year). Pfister was helped by five university students in America who were originally from different Bantu-speaking groups of either Kenya or Tanganyika. This well-received course became the basis for the course at the language school at Makoko.

More will be said on this when we get to Part _____, on developments in Musoma Diocese from 1962 to 1978. Extensive comment will be made on the question of Kiswahili versus tribal languages for expatriates doing church work in Tanzania.

Carney points out that from March, 1946, when the Musoma Prefecture was established, up till October, 1946, when the Maryknollers arrived, the White Fathers were not fully informed of what the Maryknoll purpose was in coming to Musoma (to take over Musoma or to merely learn White Fathers' methods and then take over a Vicariate somewhere else in Africa, perhaps even in Nigeria), how many Maryknollers were coming (the White Fathers thought that four Maryknollers would be coming every year), and whether it was Maswa that Maryknoll was going to take rather than Musoma. Maswa had only one tribe, the Sukuma, and it would have made language learning easier. Carney says that Bishop John Joseph McCarthy of Nairobi had recommended in 1945, while in Rome, that Maryknoll take Maswa Prefecture, and that on hearing this Bishop Oomen of Mwanza "nearly had a stroke over the suggestion."

Compounding the problem, Bishop Joseph Blomjous was not there for the first year. He had been appointed the Bishop of the Vicariate of Musoma-Maswa in April, 1946, and in October he went back to Holland to be ordained Bishop. He was thirty-eight years old and had been a missionary in Tanganyika for twelve years. He remained in Europe for the rest of 1946, raising money for the new Vicariate. In January, 1947, he went to New York to meet with Bishop Lane and the Maryknoll General Council (at which the first misunderstanding occurred, regarding his permission to use money in a New York bank account designated for Maryknoll use in Musoma), and then remained in the United States up till June, raising more money and trying to learn about ecclesiastical and pastoral methods in America. He finally came to Musoma only in August, 1947.

In any event, in that first week in Nyegina, Collins and the other Maryknollers fully explained to Junker and Van Riel what the plans were, and the Maryknoll General Council did likewise with Bishop Blomjous at their January, 1947, meeting with him in New York. On December 2nd Collins received a letter from Archbishop Matthew, the Apostolic Delegate to East Africa, saying that he and Good should come to Nairobi in mid-December to discuss with him the future plans for the division of Musoma Prefecture to Maryknoll. More will be said about this meeting, as it clarified most of the points raised above.

Language was not the only thing the first Maryknollers had to learn: other matters were the White Fathers' community life, their catechetical practice, the particular

parochial and devotional practices at Nyegina, the structuring and financing of the new prefecture, the climatic, agricultural, and ecological conditions of the Musoma area, political structures within the respective African peoples, the culture of the people, and the importance that the White Fathers put on home-visiting.

The White Fathers had a meticulous schedule of daily spiritual exercises within the Nyegina rectory, beginning with rising at 4:55am (a regulator rang a bell, a job handed over to Bayless on December 29th). Bayless wrote in his diary that Nyegina time was one hour different from Musoma time, that is that the priests woke up an hour earlier and went to bed an hour earlier than people in Musoma. The first light of dawn appears around 6:15am and the last tinge of twilight disappears around 7:30pm. In a place without electricity, the missionaries wanted to avail themselves of as much daylight as possible.

After morning prayers, meditation, and Mass they would have breakfast together and then begin several hours of language study. Prior to Vatican II there were no concelebrated Masses; one priest said the daily parish Mass and the others celebrated private Masses, either at the same time as the parish Mass in side chapels or at an earlier time if going on a trip. Bayless refers to the noon meal consistently as dinner, implying that this was the large meal of the day. After dinner, they regularly had a siesta for an hour, which Bayless explained as keeping “the missionary well fit to perform the many duties of a long day.” Tea later in the afternoon, a daily routine, was served for anyone who was present – sometimes including guests. In the evening, before supper, was another round of spiritual exercises in common, which included a half-hour of reading of two spiritual books and a fifteen-minute visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Supper followed and then a recreation period before bedtime. Recreation meant sitting together talking about whatever they wanted: about events of the day, questions and clarifications about the people, or the telling of hunting anecdotes. They went to bed at 9:00pm.

It’s not clear for how long the Maryknollers maintained the community spiritual exercises after the White Fathers departed from Musoma. By the 1950s this was not a practice in Maryknoll missions, which often had only one priest in residence for several months or even a year or two. Maryknoll’s objective was to expand the number of missions as quickly as possible, an objective affected by trips, vacations, furloughs, and occasional loss of personnel. The White Fathers had an absolute rule, as stated above, of a minimum of three living in each of their missions, to re-enforce personal, physical, moral and spiritual welfare. Considine had noted that this was not a practice of either the Mill Hill Fathers or Holy Ghost Fathers in Kenya. Over the sixty-six years that Maryknoll has been in East Africa, it has been ambivalent on this matter – acknowledging the value of community life as an ideal but allowing individuals to live on their own.

Regarding community spiritual exercises, Bayless wrote:

At first one might not like this system, considering it an infringement upon his own initiative and liberty to choose his own time to perform the spiritual exercises. That is all well and good, but frequently one’s own time for this may be diminished bit by bit or be left to his own convenience, not infrequently omitting them altogether. Such is not conducive to the development of solid spirituality, the necessary equipment of every missionary. There are those who can order their

day well and faithfully live up to their schedule, but being fairly well acquainted with human nature I might venture to say that such stalwart characters are in the minority.

We find the system of having our spiritual exercises in common very satisfactory and salutary.

According to Bayless, Fr. Junker jokingly said, “You Maryknollers were very, very good, you and Fr. Collins. This is your second novitiate.” Since the 1990s Maryknollers in some Tanzania parishes have re-instituted the practice of community exercises, primarily in morning and evening prayers (usually the reading of the breviary in common) and community Mass together, either in the house or at the parish church. This schedule is not rigidly implemented and no individual is obligated to attend community exercises. More will be said on this when we get to Part _____, on current apostolates.

Adjusting to the climate seemed not to be difficult. Musoma town gets very warm in the day but is pleasant at night, thanks to western Tanzania’s altitude and dry climate. Nyegina, in the hills outside of the town, gets slightly cooler at night, making it very pleasant. The malaria carrying anopheles mosquito comes out only after dark. Right from the beginning Maryknollers have used mosquito nets on their beds and always carried nets on their safaris to outstations. They also used a prophylactic called Atabrine, to which they attributed their not contracting malaria. In contrast, the new White Fathers who came to Tanganyika in 1946 all came down with serious malaria. It is doubtful that the White Fathers had screens on windows, although later most Maryknollers put screens on all windows of every rectory.

Another climatic event they soon discovered was the rainy season. Tanzania, an equatorial country, has two rainy seasons: in Musoma the long rains run from February to May/June, and the short rains from October to December. Musoma is on the same latitude as Nairobi, just over one degree south of the equator, but being further west its long rains start a month earlier. It doesn’t rain all day during the rainy season, nor does it rain every day; in fact, the normal pattern is to have bright sun in the morning, clouds building up in the early afternoon, and a sudden downpour in mid to late afternoon. The neophyte missionaries learned of this pattern by being caught far from the mission, either on foot or bicycle, when downpours struck. If lucky, there was a shop (called a duka) or a family’s house nearby, where they could seek shelter. Some downpours are accompanied by explosive bursts of lightning and thunder, and also by ferocious and destructive gusts of wind.

The Mara Region was far less populated in the 1940s than today, and wild animals were still found in the vicinity of Nyegina. The diaries mention numerous hunting trips, not for adventure or the love of the hunt, but to procure meat for the mission. Antelope (species not named, but presumably topi, hartebeest, wildebeest, or impala) were in good supply, plus several species of guinea fowl. The priests went out on motorcycle, or even bicycle, to hunt. Bill Collins was short, slight of frame, and hailed from the city of Boston, not known for its wilderness areas. It is almost surreal to conjure up a vision of him riding out on his bicycle, rifle slung over his shoulder, to the craggy hills beyond Nyegina to shoot large game animals. Equally hard to imagine, for

Maryknollers who came only after 1970, is that large animals were so near to Musoma town as recently as the 1940s and 1950s.

Naturally, there were a lot of snake stories from Maryknoll's early years in Nyegina, Kowak, and Rosana (we will presume that these stories are all true). Other animals or things to be wary of were scorpions, hyena, baboons, and occasional leopards. Other than leopards none of the other big five were in the Musoma area, except out near the Serengeti (the other four large animals are lion, cape buffalo, elephant, and rhinoceros). At Lake Victoria, a 45-minute walk from Nyegina, were crocodile and hippopotamus, although the priests were told that at the sandy beach where they could swim there were no crocodiles! Over the years Maryknollers have learned not to swim in Lake Victoria not for fear of crocodiles but to avoid bilharzia (schistosomiasis), a parasite that infects the liver and kidneys, and is hosted by snails in the lake. Until the last few decades the cure for bilharzia was excruciatingly debilitating.

Another bothersome little creature on the shores of Lake Victoria is the lake fly, a tiny gnat that comes off the lake by the hundreds of thousands. Although they don't bite or cause disease, they fly into an open mouth or up one's nose. When one sees the black cloud coming, it is time to head for cover. Screens help, but it is best to tightly close all windows.

Hunting safaris inevitably produce numerous anecdotes. Brother Wilfred told of spotting a pair of antlers and shooting it, only to discover the antlers were the handlebars of his motorcycle. He riddled the gasoline tank of the motorcycle and had to push it miles back to the mission. Fr. Junker once spotted a guinea hen high in a tree just as it was getting dark. His shot hit the mark but it turned out to be a beehive. These stories make one wonder whether the White Fathers should have invited a Hollywood movie producer to Nyegina or needed a capable optometrist in Musoma.

In the first month, the Maryknollers had no means of travel except by foot or on the lorries from the gold mine that passed by several days a week. Junker had a motorcycle, but there was no vehicle. This did not last long. On Wednesday, November 20th, just one month after their arrival in Nyegina, Collins walked into Musoma, a seven-mile walk one-way, accompanied by a group of boys from the school. Wednesday was a school day off, usually so that the children could work on their parents' farms or with the cattle. After doing his business in town, Collins and the boys walked back to Nyegina in the afternoon – fourteen miles round-trip in one day, not counting other miles he walked in Musoma. The following Saturday Collins worked on an old bicycle at the mission, but it was beyond repair. The next day, Sunday, November 24th, Collins waited for the mine lorry, went into Musoma again, and bought a brand new English-made Hercules bicycle, for the hefty price of \$56.00 (hefty in 1946). In December, Bayless also bought a bicycle.

Several weeks later Collins and Bert Good went to Nairobi and when in the city of Kisumu they ordered three motorcycles, two for Kowak and one for Nyegina. These arrived in late February. In 1947, Brannigan fell off his motorcycle three times, one fall so serious he feared he had broken his neck (no fracture, fortunately). After that fall, he went into Musoma and bought a second-hand car from the Mennonite Bishop. The car was a 1938 Ford made in Canada. Thus began the Maryknoll practice of using vehicles, in contrast to the White Fathers' practice of traveling on foot, bicycle or occasionally motorcycle. Maryknoll missionaries newly assigned to Tanganyika knew that they should

try to raise enough money from benefactors in the U.S. to be able to buy some type of vehicle in Africa. Jeeps were popular vehicles in the beginning.

Much greater mobility was just one area in which the Maryknoll mode of mission work would diverge from traditional White Fathers' methods.

In addition to these means of transport, Blomjous had bought a three-ton lorry for the Musoma Vicariate with the Maryknoll money the General Council loaned him. Although this put the Maryknoll-Musoma account deep in debt, the Vicariate had a necessary vehicle for the building projects they were planning. The lorry finally arrived in Musoma in February, 1948, just in time for the beginning of the first construction projects.

In mid-November Bayless wrote in his diary that Nyegina needed rain. Shortly after that heavy rain fell most days up till mid-December. However, Nyegina and much of the area around Musoma needed more than rain to produce agricultural crops. In fact, the main crop was and still is cassava, a root crop that survives in sandy soil and drought conditions. In December, Junker showed Collins and Bayless the mission garden, as related by Bayless:

Though most of the soil around here is sandy, at this particular spot it is better. Though the soil is quite hard, it is adapted for growing vegetables. It is in a small valley with a well nearby that is always filled with water. During the rains the water comes down to settle in this spot. One section of the garden has a number of banana trees, so we have bananas all year round. In the garden itself, due to the efforts and experience of Fr. Junker, we are able to grow most of the vegetables for the mission house: potatoes, carrots, cabbage, tomatoes, turnips, lettuce, string beans, etc. The work is done by one of the natives, under the direction of Fr. Junker.

[In all the early diaries African people are called natives. There was nothing pejorative intended; this was just the term that White expatriates used in reference to Africans. After some years this term disappeared from the Maryknoll lexicon.]

The mission had a small herd of cows and an orange grove, whose delicious oranges attracted buyers from far and wide, including Asian businessmen from Musoma. In the kitchen were a wood-burning stove, oven, and a churn for making butter. Collins and Bayless luxuriated over eating home-made bread and butter every day.

Bayless in his interview reflected on the disparity between the White Fathers' productive gardens and the seeming lack of missionary interest in promoting agricultural progress for the Bakwaya people.

In the early days we were taking care of parishes, giving the sacraments, answering sick calls, conducting classes in religion in schools, preparing First Communion classes, doing marriage preparation, performing marriages, visiting the sick, administering last rites, and burying the dead. It was really pastoral; there was no great push on economic development. As for planting new crops or

different crops, we let the people take care of that themselves. We'd suggest things but we never entered into it as is done nowadays, such as in planting trees.

The White Fathers had wonderful gardens, plenty of vegetables, and plenty of fruit. Every place you'd go you would see fruit trees all around the mission. So, they set an example, even if the people didn't follow it.

The first four Maryknollers did not have agricultural or technical know-how and in any event had too much to do in learning language and culture plus do pastoral work. Furthermore, any newcomer from the United States or Europe, even one with much agricultural experience and knowledge, should be hesitant to give advice to the African farmer without first engaging in a thorough study of Tanganyika's unique environmental and climatic conditions. African farming techniques and crop choices were the results of centuries of trying to adapt to and survive under these conditions. Not a few newcomers have given bad advice to African farmers – and then wondered why the Africans didn't follow that advice. It is doubtful that the White Fathers' good gardening results could have been replicated throughout the region, as they put their gardens in optimal spots, with good soil and a constant supply of water.

In fact, shortly after the Maryknollers arrived in Musoma one of the most colossal agricultural failures in the history of the continent of Africa took place in Tanganyika – the ill-fated Groundnut Scheme. In the diary of March, 1947, Collins wrote about the scheme's development, which was just beginning:

The biggest Government mechanized farm in history, covering 5,000 square miles, will produce groundnuts and other crops in Tanganyika and Uganda. The capital cost will be 25 million pounds sterling, a cool one billion dollars. [Collins arithmetic may have been wrong; it is doubtful that the exchange rate was \$40.00 for one British pound.] By the end of 1948, 150,000 acres in Tanganyika will have been cleared, planted and harvested. By May, 1948, 50,000 tons of groundnuts are expected. From these nuts will come the oils from which margarine is made.

Nearly 60,000 natives will be employed in the clearing and farming. The workers, with their families, will be gathered into communities of from 1,000 to 2,000. Each worker will have his home and about half an acre of garden and will be encouraged to develop village crafts.

A private corporation will act as manager for the government. This corporation is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary of Unilever Corporation, better known as the maker of Lifebuoy Soap. Ultimately, local governments and the local African communities will take over the project, paving the way to eventual cooperative use of the land by its inhabitants.

Even our mission territory will be affected; if this gigantic scheme goes through many people and families will be transplanted. The development of the territory will be a great step forward in modernizing the roads and transport.

The Groundnut Scheme was the largest project in a new set of British colonial post-war policies. These resulted from the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, which provided imperial finance for long-term colonial development plans. The

motives combined self-interest and altruism, as Britain's declining empire forced it to extract resources from its colonies, such as Tanganyika. The policies emphasized: development planning, secondary industry, cash-crop expansion, agricultural improvement schemes, educational advances, constitutional progress, and local government reform.

In 1946 there was an international shortfall in vegetable oils and fats and Unilever's Director toured Africa looking for new sources of supply. The Tanganyika Government recommended that Unilever grow groundnuts on only 40,000 hectares (100,000 acres) of tsetse-infested land in Western Province. Land-clearing would eliminate the tsetse problem. Instead, Unilever proposed that the government grow them and the company would buy the produce. The places chosen were a million hectares in Nachingwea and 300,000 hectares in Kongwa and Urambo, 80 to 100 kilometers east of Dodoma. Kongwa was chosen for the first 60,000 hectares (150,000 acres), with the work of clearing and planting to be done in 1947. The first mistake was to infer rainfall amounts for Kongwa from statistics from nearby Mpwapwa, which is in hills and has sufficient rainfall. The people of Mpwapwa, who were never asked, called Kongwa "the land of perpetual drought."

The decision was to use machinery for all the work, from used equipment left over throughout the world after the war. Not only were many African drivers and craftsmen employed but also 3,000 Britons. The scheme ran into insurmountable obstacles from drought (a devastating one in 1949), bush, and soil so hard it disabled the decrepit machinery. By 1948, only 20,000 hectares had been cleared and more groundnut seeds had been planted than were harvested. Heavy equipment stood unserviceable, while laborers gathered groundnuts by hand. By 1950 36 million pounds sterling had been expended, for almost nothing gained, and a commission recommended abandoning the scheme.

A few minor benefits were gained, such as land cleared for tobacco, ranching and African small-holder farming, and the port at Mtwara had been modernized. Britain did not attempt again to restructure Tanganyika's economy, although nothing had been envisioned anyway. [For another example of colossal failure in East Africa, read Volume One, Part Six, pages 234-254, on Bura Parish and the World Bank-funded Bura cotton Irrigation Scheme, which also collapsed.]

Although they did not write about the Groundnut Scheme again in their diaries, the Maryknollers in Tanganyika certainly were very aware of what had happened.

The term 'export-led development' had not yet been coined, but the Groundnut Scheme was a perfect example of this. This type of development results in the peasantization of subsistence farmers, pulling them into the vagaries of the international market place. This benefits multinational companies, with at best minimal rewards for small-holder farmers. Some years later Maryknollers would do social analysis and state that export-led development is one of several economic structural relationships that have led to growing poverty in Africa and other poor, developing countries.

In their first month, Collins and Bayless learned first-hand of the colonial governing system, with a short visit in their first week to the local Headman, a Catholic called by Bayless "a very industrious man and one of the most exemplary Christians in this district." This visit also accorded them their first experience with African hospitality.

In July, 1947, Collins wrote more extensively about the position of headman:

A *mwinango* is a headman (in Kikwaya), appointed by the Chief, with certain definite boundaries. These usually include at least one village, but when you speak of a village you must not think that it is a group of houses all in one place. The houses are scattered all over the place. Near the mission we have two headmen, both Catholics.

The lot of a headman is not a happy one: he has to settle quarrels among the people of his district, collect taxes, see that his subjects don't let their cattle graze on forbidden territory, and supply men when the government has some work project in the area of the kingdom.

The Chief is head of a whole tribe and in South Mara alone we have about twenty Chiefs. They are elected by the people. Certain elders are chosen by the people and they proceed to elect the Chief. The Chief is paid by the government in accordance with the number of taxpayers he has in his own territory. The local headman has his own court, assisted by six elders. The Chief has his own court, assisted by some elders.

At the end of their first month (November) the four priests of Nyegina Mission paid an official visit to the King (or Chief) of the Bakwaya, King Musira, who lived five miles from the mission. This was an all-day affair that included all 275 boys of the school marching to the King's compound escorted by their teachers. Bayless walked along with the school group, whereas the others went either by motorcycle or bicycle. All had on their formal white cassocks and sun helmets, making this trek an uncomfortably warm one (Bayless got a ride back on Junker's motorcycle).

They were met with great pomp and royal ritual by the King and served a truly sumptuous meal, cooked by a large retinue of Bakwaya women from the area. Only the priests ate inside the King's dining room, a simple mud-walled, dirt-floored, thatched-roof house. All the boys and teachers were served an African meal of ugali (boiled maize flour), sweet potatoes, and meat. The boys put on entertainment before the meal (the school had a band that played a variety of western instruments, not unusual for primary schools in the colonial era), and played a soccer game after the meal. The King gave a speech to everybody. A few Christians in attendance asked the priests to bless their homes, an honor given to Bayless. On leaving, they thanked the King for his great hospitality and a splendid day. Bayless wrote that the King and many others were "pagans," but that he hoped that this visit would "win some souls for Christ."

Chief Musira came by the mission from time to time, to discuss government initiatives, and was always warmly welcomed by the priests. His main task was collecting taxes for the colonial administration. People who couldn't pay were obligated to do forced labor, which in Nyegina meant fixing the roads. The small road from the mission out to the main road was kept in good repair, except where it passed through a small stream. Bayless said:

The White Fathers were very friendly with the Chiefs. And we too had a very good relationship with the Chiefs [both in Musoma and Shinyanga]. Those

were men who were very helpful, and may they rest in peace. They did great work for the church and the White Fathers were close to them and their families.

The White Fathers, however, avoided the British Administration. They would go to the boma (government office) and have to wait in line. Some of the European officials would keep the White Fathers waiting outside and it was very disconcerting for them. Also, many of the White Fathers were not comfortable speaking English. So, they didn't feel at home with the British.

When they had business in the courthouse, for example, they wouldn't go in person, nor would they write a letter. They would send someone, such as a catechist, with a message. They wouldn't write a letter, though, and they wouldn't sign their names. I thought that was very clever of them; they didn't want to get involved. But it was interesting with the British, they shied away from them.

When we came in we didn't mind. We would go down there and talk with the British and it would be all right.

Bayless admitted, though, that he never had many dealings with the colonial officials over his career, nor with the officials of the independent Tanzanian government. (In 1962, shortly after Tanganyika became independent, President Nyerere abolished the office of Chief.) As the years went on some Maryknollers inevitably had to work with government officials, because of their work in education, health, or agriculture. In their initial months at Nyegina the Maryknollers did meet a few Europeans and Asians, such as Captain Fennessy, the head of the Musoma Police Department, who was a good Catholic. He and his wife regularly invited the priests to their house for tea or dinner. Likewise, they visited the priests in Nyegina. In the first two months the priests also welcomed a Goan Doctor to the rectory and a young European couple, who were Catholic and requested Baptism for their first child. The man's father owned the Musoma Hotel and the woman's father owned the ferry that operated between Musoma and Kinesi. The diaries don't mention other British officers, who were probably not Catholic; none were overtly hostile to the Catholic Church, although it's possible some harbored anti-Catholic sentiments.

It is understandable that in their first months the Maryknollers appreciated opportunities to socialize with Europeans and speak English. Gradually, however, they began to spend more time with the local African people, especially Bayless. In December, Collins went to Nairobi, Kenya, for two weeks (cf below) and during this time Bayless assumed more responsibilities for the parish. In mid-December Fr. Junker suggested to Bayless that his Kikwaya was good enough and he should start visiting the Christians in their homes. On December 12th Bayless took the first of these trips by bicycle. This practice of home-visiting was to become the modus operandi of Bayless, not only at Nyegina, but in his first ten to fifteen years in Shinyanga Diocese (he admitted that as he got older, he did less home-visiting).

As December progressed he went by bicycle out to more distant outstations to do home-visiting, particularly to Mugango, which was later to become a parish. In 1947 he gradually began going to places twenty or so miles from Nyegina, although not staying overnight. Since he had no motorcycle until mid-1947 he was limited in how far he could go in one day. Finally, though, in mid-June of 1947 he went out to a major outstation of Nyegina, in the country of the Bangorimi thirty miles from Musoma, where he stayed for

two weeks. This trip was also done by bicycle. The White Fathers had built houses in their large stations among the Bangorimi, Basimbiti, and Bajita people, and Bayless started making long trips (both long and short trips are called safaris in Kiswahili) to these places. Bayless enjoyed his visits to peoples' homes and often stayed longer talking with people than might have been necessary. Fifty years later, at Maryknoll's fiftieth anniversary celebration in Musoma, Bayless was the chief celebrant at the Mass. Many people from Nyegina were there and those from an age group old enough to have known him had very fond memories of him, even though he had spent the previous forty years in Shinyanga.

Home-visiting was an important part of the White Fathers' mission methodology and it was likewise to become a central component of Maryknollers' parish ministry.

There was also a chapel in Musoma, which did not become a parish until 1952, and Mass was said there one Sunday a month. In those first months, Fr. Junker went in to say Mass, where Kiswahili would have been preferable to Kikwaya for preaching purposes. Whether Junker knew Kiswahili was not said in the diaries. Bayless was the first Maryknoller to say the Sunday Mass there, in February, 1947. He had not yet begun preaching, so perhaps a Catholic Action leader preached. After Easter in mid-April, 1947, he went into Musoma on a Wednesday to visit the Christians, and wrote the following report:

I was amazed to find how many there are. The tribes represented are the Bakwaya, Basimbiti, Bangorimi, Bajita, Bakerewe and Bakuria, who understand the Kikwaya language. Dholuo, Bahaya from Bukoba, and Basukuma also constitute a portion of the Catholic population of Musoma and these three tribes do not understand Kikwaya at all. Thus, no small problem confronts us.

Kiswahili may be the solution but the women understand only the language of their respective tribes. Kiswahili is the lingua franca of East Africa, but many years will have passed before all tribes adopt this common mode of expression.

Government jobs are the reason so many tribes are in Musoma town. Several from Bukoba work in the hospital in Musoma. Other Catholics work at the Customs and one at the Post Office. Some are clerks at the Boma (City Hall), while others are engaged as laborers.

Although there are many fervent Christians living there, I was disappointed to learn that many were not practicing Catholics. This is due to a great extent to the Moslem influence. Futile attempts have been made to have the Catholics move out of the town. This was the White Fathers proposal some years ago for the spiritual welfare of the Christians.

We are looking forward to the day when we can have a resident priest at the mission chapel just outside of the town.

In May, 1947, it was decided that Musoma would get Mass twice a month.

In their first two months Bayless and Collins became acquainted with two other facets of the White Fathers' pastoral ministry that were very valuable: weekly meetings of all the priests at the parish and the Catholic Action Group. Two meetings of the priests

are mentioned in the diaries, that of the end of November at which the White Fathers asked if one of the Maryknoll priests could teach English in the primary schools and the first meeting of December, which concentrated on the questions of the hand-over of authority for Musoma Prefecture from the White Fathers to Maryknoll and about who should take the Ukerewe Islands (cf ahead). Collins and Good were leaving the next day for Nairobi to discuss these matters with the apostolic delegate.

Catholic Action was a parish-wide organization with cells in each section of the parish. On the first Wednesday of each month the cell leaders met with the pastor, Fr. Junker, “to give reports, discuss matters, and line up plans for the coming month.” There was also a Catholic Action Study Club. The priests didn’t know much about this organization at first but saw it as an invaluable part of the parish.

Thus, in the first two months in East Africa the priests had become aware of two organizations that made it possible for laity to participate in outreach ministries of the church, in terms of service, charitable aid, and evangelization: Catholic Action and the Legion of Mary. After Vatican II, in East Africa, parish councils and small Christian communities gradually replaced these organizations, but one can see in the former the forerunners of the later parish structures.

A third important (in fact, crucial) office in the parish was that of catechist. We will look more closely at the White Fathers’ catechetical program when we discuss Kowak Parish, because it was from Kowak that Maryknollers first began to recommend changes in the catechetical program for Musoma Prefecture. For now, though, we will report that on the day after Christmas a three-day retreat began for all the catechists of Nyegina Parish at the mission, in 1946 preached by Fr. Van Riel. This was also a great opportunity for Bayless and Collins to meet all the catechists.

As Maryknoll’s history goes on in Tanzania, it is not clear if the weekly staff meeting was retained. If not, this may have been an unfortunate loss.

The Maryknollers also learned of other routine devotional practices, such as First Friday, which included a Mass attended by many Catholics and a one-hour recollection in the evening done by the priests, sung High Mass every Sunday at 9:00am, and evening Benediction on certain feast days. In March, 1948, Collins and Bayless started a special Mass on First Friday for the schoolchildren. The White Fathers, however, did not stress devotional activities as each had another major responsibility: one was in charge of the schools and the other was running the small dispensary at the mission. Additionally, as said above, Fr. Van Riel was Vicar General and Education Secretary for the whole Vicariate of Musoma-Maswa. The priests also did a lot of the teaching in the Sacramental Course, the final leg of the catechumenate at which all catechumens came to the mission for six months – from all the Bantu-speaking tribes, except for the Kuria.

The first Christmas spent in Africa has always been an extraordinary event for new American missionaries, and the first Christmas in Nyegina was no exception. Lorries started bringing hundreds of Catholics (maybe some non-Catholics as well) from distant parts of the parish several days before Christmas, each lorry-load filled with people singing carols at the tops of their voices. A crib was set up in the church, which was also decorated with banners, paper lanterns, colored cloths, and holy pictures. Incongruously, there was also a long line of small British flags (“Hip, Hip, Hooray,” saluted Collins). Midnight Mass, a solemn High Mass, was jammed, with many people carrying lanterns. The singing was sensational, particularly the Gloria, for which the congregation pulled

out all the stops. There was another Mass at 9:00am that had an even bigger crowd – around 800 inside and outside the small church that could hold only about 400 when totally packed. In late afternoon Benediction was held.

It was also warm – an unusual experience at Christmas for the missionaries from Boston and New York.

At the end of December two of the White Fathers departed for a long furlough in Holland: Fr. Frans Hendriks from Kowak, leaving Brannigan alone to do ministry among the Kuria, and Brother Wilfrid, who was gone for a year and went to Kowak in 1948. Hendriks never returned to Musoma Prefecture. Since Van Riel was often away, in Mwanza or Maswa, in early 1947 Fr. Junker asked Collins to take over the dispensary, despite his not having any medical training, a service that also included pulling teeth. It was not until May, however, that Collins had full responsibility for the dispensary.

After two months in Nyegina, Bayless wrote that they were becoming aware of the difficulties at each mission:

Among the Bakwaya here at Nyegina it is the fact that there is no dowry for marriage and the marriages are easily broken up; the Luos are very enthusiastic but slide back easily; among the Bakuria there is no established mission, so Fr. Brannigan has that task to face.

But we must say that we have been surprised and delighted to find the place so well-developed, done by the skillful and experienced White Fathers, to whom we are indebted.

As the months went by Bayless and Collins gradually became more aware of an even larger obstacle to Christianity – polygamy. Leading men in the community had many wives and some of the staunchest Catholic men took a second wife when the opportunity arose.

They encountered a serious setback of a different kind in late February, 1947. On February 23rd, one of the new motorcycles arrived at Nyegina. The next day at 7:00pm a huge fire destroyed the roofs of two buildings (church and school), building materials, twenty boxes filled with personal and other items, Fr. Junker's motorcycle and – most disheartening of all – the brand new motorcycle. (Two motorcycles for Kowak arrived in Musoma a few days later and went straight to Kowak.) The fire lasted for five hours. The Maryknollers in Kowak received word of it the next day and Brannigan wrote that “There were some sad men in Africa tonight.”

It would not be until August that work on the first of the two buildings was completed. There was an even longer wait for a motorcycle. They ordered two more and were informed in June that they would receive them soon, only to receive word in July that the company could not supply them. Finally, in January, 1948, replacement motorcycles arrived in Nyegina. However, this “holocaust,” as Brannigan termed it, would not be the only devastating incident to challenge the new missionaries.

Prior to surveying the early months at Kowak Parish, let us examine the trip to Nairobi by Collins and Good in mid-December, 1946, to discuss the schedule of the turnover of Musoma Prefecture to Maryknoll. On Sunday morning, December 8th, Bill

Collins rode into Musoma on the gold mine's lorry and met up with Bert Good, who had come down from Kowak the previous evening. Good slept at the chapel in Musoma and celebrated Sunday Mass there. After dinner with Captain Fennessey and his wife, they boarded the ferry and went first to Kisumu, where they were met by Fr. Joannes de Reeper, the Mill Hill Superior in Kisumu Vicariate and later its Bishop (1964 to 1976), who took them to the Mill Hill mission in the city. This enabled them to visit some of the developments established by the Mill Hill Society, such as a large girls' school run by Sisters. (Often the diaries don't specify whether schools are primary or secondary schools, but in 1946 odds are that they were primary schools.) That evening, the 9th, they caught the train to Nairobi, arriving on the morning of Tuesday, the 10th.

Later that morning they met with Archbishop David Matthew, the Apostolic Delegate to East Africa, who was usually residing in Mombasa. While they were in Nairobi Collins and Good also met Bishop John Joseph McCarthy CSSp., the recently appointed Vicar Apostolic of Nairobi (July 11, 1946), which was still officially called the Vicariate Apostolic of Zanzibar. Collins had first met McCarthy in Rome in 1945, when he visited the Maryknoll house on Via Sardegna. In Nairobi they also met Bishop Edgar Maranta, O.F.M. Cap, the Bishop of Dar es Salaam since 1930, who had visited Consolata missions in central Kenya and was staying in Nairobi with the Scordoulis family. Their daughter Theo had been on the boat with the four Maryknollers when en route to Mombasa, and was the head of Catholic Action in Nairobi. The Scordoulis family invited Collins and Good to their home for meals twice during their eight-day stay in Nairobi, and Theo did much of the shopping for the goods they were seeking, as she knew where the items could be found.

The two Maryknollers had two long talks with Archbishop Matthew, on the morning of the 10th and again on the morning of Monday, the 16th, regarding the timetable for transfer of authority for Musoma to Maryknoll. [Carney on page 114 seems to indicate that Bishop Oomen of Mwanza and Fr. Joseph Van Riel of Nyegina were present in Nairobi for these meetings, but it is clear from Collins' diary that they were not. Matthew had met with Oomen and Van Riel previous to his meeting with the Maryknollers in Nairobi.] On their final meeting in Nairobi Matthew gave Collins and Good an official letter for Maryknoll, which he first asked them to correct. The next day he returned to Mombasa and Collins and Good left for Kisumu on the 18th. Collins had hoped to go down to Arusha to meet the American Holy Ghost priests, but he could not find the opportunity. Collins summed up their meetings with Matthew as follows:

The Delegate has been most kind and gave up much of his time to discuss the situation with the two of us. He is a man of energy and has many plans for the future development of the missions in East Africa as well as West Africa. He has an evident prejudice (perhaps this is too strong a word) for English-speaking societies. This may be the result of his talks with government officials. In any case, that is why he is glad that an American Society has come here. He gave us some sound advice and his suggestions for our future work will give Maryknoll a basis on which to build their plans for Africa.

While all agree that the White Fathers make good missionaries, yet there was some criticism of their rules and procedure, such as the use of French among themselves as the lingua franca – a French which the Delegate thinks is not very

pure. The Delegate also mentioned that he found some of them unwilling to meet the government officials.

He is delighted to have Maryknollers here and wants to give Maryknoll ample room for our work. The Delegate made many valuable suggestions; because of the special difficulties of starting the new mission, he thought that an older man would be better (loud applause from the two Maryknollers). He also hoped that the Maryknoll Sisters would be able to come.

Archbishop Matthew had requested the Maryknoll Sisters because he wished to see a school and dispensary constructed in Kowak. When Collins informed the General Council of this, Bishop Lane wrote a note to Mother Mary Columba and then in January, 1947, Archbishop Matthew also wrote directly to Sister Columba. Later that year, when Bishop Blomjous had arrived in Musoma and discussed matters with Collins, he also wrote directly to Sister Columba requesting Maryknoll Sisters for Musoma Prefecture. Finally, in December, 1947, the Sisters responded affirmatively and said they could send four Sisters in 1948. More will be said about this when we consider the history of Kowak Parish. [Not much, though. In 2012, Sister Catherine Erisman, MM, published a thorough history of the Maryknoll Sisters history in Tanzania from 1948 to 2010. I will generally refer the reader to Erisman's book.]

There were some other matters discussed and clarified at these meetings. Matthew had been of the belief that Maryknoll would send four priests every year (perhaps the White Fathers had told him this) and, given that Musoma was so small an area (!?), he wanted Maryknoll to consider expanding to Nigeria as soon as possible. The Maryknollers stated clearly that only two priests would be coming each year up till 1950 and that it would not be possible for Maryknoll to consider going elsewhere until the 1950s. Matthew also recommended that Maryknoll add the Ukerewe and Ukara Islands to Musoma Prefecture, a recommendation that Bishop Blomjous was making to Propaganda Fide in Rome that same month. Carney notes that Collins immediately recognized that this would mean learning five languages, even though there were only four priests in Musoma at that time (in addition to the three tribal languages they were learning, Swahili was a fourth language that they had to know to some extent). Archbishop Matthew also wanted to know of Maryknoll's financial arrangements for the Musoma Prefecture, although both he and Blomjous were more than satisfied with Maryknoll funding plans. It was also clarified by Matthew that only the Musoma civil district would go to Maryknoll after separation from the White Fathers. Maswa would remain with Mwanza, under Blomjous, a decision that greatly relieved Collins. The two Maryknoll priests were also informed that Blomjous, while in Rome, had requested a grant of \$20,000 from Propaganda Fide to build a seminary in Musoma. He felt that Musoma needed its own seminary, given its unique circumstances of so many tribes and languages.

During this long trip in Kenya Collins and Good visited a number of places, including Holy Family Parish in downtown Nairobi (now a basilica and the Archdiocesan Cathedral), the Holy Ghost Fathers' headquarters in Msongari (seven miles from downtown Nairobi, very near to the current Maryknoll center house), where they ran St. Austin Parish and a large school, the Holy Ghost parish in Limuru, thirty miles from Nairobi, where they stayed for several nights (Holy Family rectory was full), and Mangu

High School twenty-five miles north of Nairobi. The school at Kabaa that Considine had visited in 1932 had since moved to Mangu and has always been one of Kenya's premiere boys secondary schools. While in Limuru, Bishop Maranta took them on a fabulous trip in his 1941 Chevrolet down the road into the Rift Valley built by Italian prisoners during the Second World War, where they saw the small but beautiful chapel built by the Italian prisoners (this remains a not-to-be-missed travel destination for Italian tourists to Kenya even in the 21st century). They then visited a mission station at Kinangop, 8000 feet in altitude, located well up into the foothills of the Aberdares Mountains. (They may possibly be the only Maryknollers who have gone to Kinangop.)

In his diary Collins commented on the cool climate at Limuru, its lush countryside, superb farmland, and the bountiful milk production of the Holy Ghost Fathers' cows – sixty gallons a day from 100 cows versus one quart a day from Nyegina's fifteen cows. He also observed that many of the priests had cars, even though cars were very difficult to get right after the war, and that the rectories, schools, convents, and churches were all very well built. He appreciated getting to visit the Holy Ghost and Mill Hill priests and Bishops, as well as several Sisters' congregations (they did not visit the Consolata priests; there were very few if any Consolata, all Italian, in Kenya right after the war). Collins wrote that "although the Europeans think that we are loaded with money, after seeing some of the fine buildings in Kenya, I think that some of these Societies are not exactly poor...All in all, we were very glad of the opportunity to see how other Societies work and what can really be done."

While in Nairobi they shopped for a number of items, although they found the price of a motorcycle too expensive. They stopped in Kisumu for two days on their return and did some more last-minute shopping. Collins and Good discovered that almost as many things could be purchased in Kisumu as in Nairobi and felt it would be a better place to shop. The Mill Hill priests invited them to stay at the Mill Hill parish whenever they came to Kisumu. Given the good accommodations in Kenya and the warm hospitality of the various congregations, Collins began to think it would be better for new Maryknollers to land in Mombasa rather than in Dar es Salaam.

Collins commented also on other matters that would have consequences for Maryknoll's mode of doing mission in Tanzania:

There can be no doubt but that the methods of both the Mill Hill Fathers and the Holy Ghost Fathers differ from those of the White Fathers. In Kenya, the missions were more comfortable and better built. It is my impression also that more freedom is given the individual missionary and consequently more authority to him in building his own mission, nor is he bound to any set style of building.

Here, at least under the reign of Bishop Oomen of Mwanza, everything seems to have to pass through the Bishop, even to the smallest detail.

The Mill Hill Fathers require less time for the catechumenate, though it is more intensive. On the other hand, we found that the Mill Hill Fathers seem to have been more successful in teaching the natives to contribute to the support of the Church, though their methods may seem a bit strange – tickets, etc.

While in Kisumu, de Reeper came to visit them again, wanting to learn of what had been discussed in Nairobi. One matter discussed in Kisumu was Isibania Parish, on the Kenya-Tanganyika border:

There is a question of our taking over a mission from them just across the Kenya border, as most of the people there are the Bakurias of Fr. Brannigan's mission. But the Delegate had told us that this would not be done, as it meant crossing a boundary line.

Discussion regarding all these questions continued into the new year of 1947, most importantly when Bishop Blomjous met with the Maryknoll General Council in New York on January 20, 1947. In his doctoral thesis Carney treats extensively the matters discussed in 1947 in Chapter Five, pages 95 to 133. Here I will just sum up some of the main points of the discussions in January, 1947, and correspondence in August and September, 1947, after Blomjous had arrived in Musoma.

At their January meeting, the Maryknoll General Council reiterated its emphasis on language learning as the immediate priority for the new Maryknollers in Tanganyika, for at least six months. It also documented that Maryknoll had committed to sending only two priests a year from 1947 to 1950, due to its need to supply the Orient, Latin America and its expanding education system in the U.S. The Council also told Blomjous that it could not expand to any other part of Africa until at least the 1950s, and that it had forwarded the request for Maryknoll Sisters to Mother Mary Columba.

On his part, Blomjous said that Ukerewe would remain in Mwanza for the time being and that he had written to Fr. Van Riel in Nyegina to say that Maryknoll should have no responsibilities as of yet nor should they do procuratorship for the missions. He said that no White Fathers would be withdrawn from Musoma, except for those going on home leave, and he repeated to the Council his belief that African languages are relatively easy. He was quite pleased to learn of Maryknoll's system of personal allowance and viatique, and accepted that construction was a diocesan responsibility. In September, however, Collins and Blomjous mutually agreed that new construction in Kowak should be a Maryknoll responsibility, since the prefecture would soon belong to Maryknoll.

It was during the January meeting in New York that Blomjous and Bishop Lane made a gentlemen's agreement that the Bishop could borrow funds from the Maryknoll-Musoma account in New York City. The account had only \$2,000.00 in it, but Blomjous ran up debts amounting to \$12,000.00. Apparently, Blomjous never fully paid back the money he used, but Collins used great tact to minimize tension over this.

Two other issues remained: responsibility for Ukerewe and the date of the final transfer of Musoma from the White Fathers to Maryknoll. These were worked out in the years 1948 to 1950, although not always in the most harmonious fashion. A brief examination of the handling of these matters will be done later.

In the meantime, in the first eight months of 1947 Collins and especially Bayless were getting more involved in the pastoral work of Nyegina. In February Bayless continued visiting Christians and commented that he was getting well acquainted with those who lived nearby. One day he went towards Majita and met a Luo boy, a non-

Christian, who informed Bayless that there were many Luo living in the Majita and Mugango area, as many as 5,000. The boy led him to some Luo homes, where Bayless discovered that there were a few Christians and others who wanted to continue their study to be baptized. As there was a Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) mission three miles away, Bayless wrote that “we do well to continue to work hard in harvesting souls lest they reap the harvest before we do.” One of the Luo men showed Bayless a Kiswahili bible printed by the SDA press in Kisumu. Bayless wrote that there was a Catholic Kiswahili New Testament and that the TMP Press in Tabora was having the Old Testament translated so that they could soon produce the full Catholic version of the bible in Kiswahili.

In January, Collins had taken a trip to Kowak, to meet with Bert Good regarding tentative plans for transfer of Musoma Prefecture to Maryknoll. After crossing from Musoma to Kinesi he stayed in a house built by the White Fathers, where there was also a chapel. The catechist, named Boniface, made sleeping arrangements for Collins and supplied him with breakfast the following morning. That evening the wife of a shop-owner, who was an SDA, prepared supper for Collins. It rained at night, and Collins wrote that the hut leaked but fortunately not over the bed. The next day he took a bus to Kowak, where he stayed for two days. This was the first trip across Mara Bay for either Collins or Bayless.

In March, as a harbinger of the future transfer of responsibility, Fr. Junker (there was a discrepancy in the spelling of his name: Bayless wrote Junker, whereas Collins wrote Junkers, but the correct spelling is Junker) went to Mwanza for a week to receive treatment for his bad teeth, leaving Collins in charge of the dispensary. Collins wrote that naturally many of the school children came by with invented ailments, to test the new “doctor.” In May, responsibility for the dispensary was transferred permanently to Collins. In addition to tooth-pulling, the dispensary treated scorpion bites (“a bit of salt water in the eyes – and it works”), tropical ulcers, children covered with scabs, and children suffering from many ailments, colds, and viral infections. Collins wrote that more than dispensing medicine what was needed was someone to teach the mothers about hygiene and general health. He also noted that the local people usually went to the local diviner/herbalist first before coming to the dispensary.

Other signs of the imminent future appeared, as in March both Bayless and Collins began hearing confessions in Kikwaya, and on April 3rd, Holy Thursday, Collins preached his first sermon in Kikwaya (all new missionary priests have experienced the terror of this ordeal, but African Catholics are very forgiving). Bayless had also begun preaching in Kikwaya at this time.

With regard to schools, Nyegina received a grant of \$3,000.00 to build four new classrooms, but Fr. Van Riel turned it down, saying there was no Brother to oversee construction (Bro. Wilfrid had gone to Europe for furlough) and it was difficult to get supplies. Collins wrote that “I mention this only to show that the government is ready to help with school buildings.” In July, Nyegina received \$800.00 from the Tanganyika Education Department and this time the priests accepted it.

In May, 1947, they received news of the death of Bishop Joseph-Marie Birraux, the Superior General of the White Fathers, who died on April 30th and whose death came as a shock to the White Fathers in Nyegina. At that time it seemed that the somber mood was the only consequence, but the change of Superior General would have monumental

repercussions in Musoma, beginning a year later. In May the Maryknollers also received word that Fathers Joe Glynn and Ed Bratton, both to be ordained in June, would be coming to Tanganyika that year.

As the months of May, June and July went by, both Bayless and Collins took trips further away from Nyegina, such as to a place called Mwilingo, eighteen miles from Nyegina, and to an island called Likuba out in the lake, where Bayless encountered fifty people but no Catholics. They did express interest in studying the catechism, however. As has already been said, in June Bayless took a two-week trip to Bangorimi, some fifty miles from Nyegina. These trips were all done by bicycle, or by boat to the island. In July, Collins went by bus for an overnight trip to Majita, staying at the house built by the White Fathers in Chumwi. This is forty miles southwest of Nyegina. In the 1950s, however, the mission was not put in Chumwi, which became an outstation of Majita Parish. On this trip, Collins discovered the joys or travails of riding in a local bus and also observed the local cash crop, cotton. Collins wrote that the African farmers were paid three cents (American) a pound for cotton, which was ginned locally and then sent to India.

In late July they received word that Bishop Blomjous had arrived in Mombasa and would fly to Dar es Salaam and then go on to Mwanza in August. Collins also was informed of the three-ton lorry and 2000 sheets of corrugated aluminum roofing sheets that Blomjous had bought with Maryknoll funds in the United States. It was only in August and September that Collins became fully aware of the huge debt that had been incurred by Blomjous in the U.S. For his part, Blomjous had not realized that the account had only \$2,000 in it, and in any event he ended up taking most of the items bought and partially reimbursing Collins in Tanganyika – with the exception of the \$4,000 lorry.

For the first ten days of August, the mission of Nyegina was all aflutter with preparations to welcome Musoma's new Bishop. A throne was installed in the church and the mission compound was fixed up. Blomjous arrived on the ferry from Mwanza on August 10th, met dockside in Musoma by Fathers Van der Heijden and Good from Kowak. They immediately processed to Nyegina, where the Bishop was met by a throng of people. After giving them a blessing, the people came forth to kiss his ring, "a hilarious mixture of actions," according to Collins. The parish band played some songs for the Bishop.

Blomjous stayed in Nyegina for six days, before going up to Kowak for some time. This was the first time that Collins and Blomjous were able to talk face to face and really start to address the issue of the transfer of authority. On return from Kowak the Bishop went to Maswa for a week or two, returning to Nyegina on September 7th. That is when, as Collins wrote in his diary, that things began to happen, i.e. that changes of personnel were coming about that would affect the timetable of the transfer. Fr. Van Riel was transferred to Kilulu in Maswa District, leaving Junker the only White Father in Nyegina. And, as we will see, the pastor of Kowak Parish, Fr. William (or Willem) Van der Heijden, went on home leave in Europe, leaving only one White Father in Kowak.

It was also decided that Collins become local econome, take charge of the two schools, for boys and girls, and teach English to the boys in the upper classes. Bayless would take over the dispensary from Collins and have charge of the small boys and girls preparing for First Communion.

There was also a flurry of correspondence between Collins and the Maryknoll General Council, and between Bishop Blomjous and the Council in August and September, 1947. Collins wrote to Lane on September 6, 1947, saying that he agreed that Maryknoll should be responsible for new construction, as Musoma was to be a Maryknoll responsibility, but that Blomjous would try to help where possible, such as with construction of a seminary in Musoma. On September 12, 1947, Blomjous wrote to the Maryknoll General Council, making the following points: that Maswa would go back to Mwanza when Bishop Oomen retired (he did retire in 1948), Blomjous would then be the Administrator of Mwanza while remaining Vicar Apostolic of Musoma, Ukerewe/Ukara would go to Musoma at that time, provided Maryknoll and the White Fathers agreed (this was agreed in 1948, although negated in April, 1949, by events in Ukerewe), and that he was willing to administer Musoma until Maryknoll was ready to take over.

On September 24, 1947, Maryknoll's Vicar General, Fr. Thomas Walsh, wrote letters to both Collins and Blomjous. To Collins he stated that although it was necessary to maintain good relations with the White Fathers, Collins needed to be able to control use of Maryknoll funds. He also said that Collins was merely the superior of the Maryknollers in Musoma, not the ordinary of the vicariate, and that Maryknoll should not assume responsibility for any diocesan initiatives. To Blomjous he said the most important matter was the need for a more precise understanding of the date of transfer from the White Fathers to Maryknoll – but that he did not envision Maryknoll being ready for this prior to 1951. He also said that Maryknoll can't accept Ukerewe until Musoma becomes an independent Prefecture under Maryknoll and that for now it should remain a responsibility under Mwanza.

However, unforeseen events were to take place in 1948 and 1949 that resulted in an aborted Maryknoll mission in Ukerewe and the hastening of Maryknoll taking responsibility for Musoma, which occurred in June, 1950. But first we will look at what was happening in Kowak in that first year.

Kowak Parish, currently named St. Bridget Parish, was started in 1933 by the White Fathers, although for the first three years it was not at Kowak but at a place called Butuli, which is now one of the larger outstations of the parish. Kowak is known for a striking landmark just behind the parish, the two-pronged Rorya Mountain that can be seen clearly in Musoma thirty miles away. The name Rorya has been given to the new district formed in 2007 in which Kowak Parish is a part. Kowak Parish was started to minister to the people north of the Mara River, which was a formidable obstacle to travel prior to the late 1980s. [In the late 1980s or perhaps around 1990, a tarmac road was built from Musoma to the Kenya border and a large bridge was built over the Mara River.] The tribes of North Mara District were the Nilotic Luo and several Bantu tribes, particularly the Bakuria and Basimbiti and some smaller Bantu tribes. Kowak Parish concentrated on the Luo, although it had an outreach to the Bakuria. The Basimbiti, although they lived in North Mara, being of Bantu ethnicity they were served by Nyegina Parish.

Let us first briefly examine the history and culture of the Luo people. For this I have used two sources: Carney's thesis and Wikipedia. [Carney cites a number of sources, but four deserve special mention: "Southern Nilotic History" by Christopher Ehret, Northwestern Univ. Press, 1971; "Zamani" edited by B.A. Ogot and J.A. Kieran,

East Africa Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1968, especially the chapter by D.W. Cohen titled “The River-Lake Nilotes from the 15th to the 19th Century; “The Luo of Kenya: An Annotated Bibliography” by Carole E. DuPre, Institute for Cross-Cultural Research, Washington, DC, 1968; and “A History of Tanzania” edited by I.N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu, East Africa Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1969: this work’s first chapter is titled ‘The Peopling of Tanzania,’ by J.E.G. Sutton.]

[Wikipedia relies heavily on two sources: the classic work on the Luo, “History of the Southern Luo” by Bethwell A. Ogot, published by the East Africa Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967, as part of the ‘Peoples of East Africa’ series; and a more recent work, on many ethnic groups, “Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth Edition” edited by Raymond G. Gordon Jr., SIL International, Dallas, TX, 2005.]

The Luo originated as part of the Nilotic people of southern Sudan and southwestern Ethiopia, separating from the East Sudanic family of tribes around 3000 BCE. Referred to as the Lwoo people, their ancestral homeland is around the confluence of the Nile and Bahr-el Ghazal rivers, between the modern towns of Malakal and Abyei. According to Carney, Nilotic groups began dispersing to different places early in the first millennium CE, giving rise to three different ethno-linguistic groups: the River-Lake Nilotes, also called Western Nilotes, such as the Luo and other Nilotes of South Sudan, who congregated originally in what is today Bahr-el Ghazal Province around the city of Wau; the Plains Nilotes, such as the Maasai; and the Highland Nilotes, such as the Kalenjin of Kenya and various ethnic groups of southwestern Ethiopia.

The River Nilotes remained in the Bahr-el Ghazal area till the thirteenth century. From then up till the middle of the fifteenth century there were further migrations, with the Shilluk moving north (and founding a kingdom with 100 clans united under Chief Nyikango around the year 1450 CE) and the Lwoo peoples moving south and westwards. Wikipedia states that the reasons for these migrations are undetermined but cites as possibilities Arab conquest, internal contradictions and/or population explosion. From the 15th to 19th century there were five waves of migrations, to all of southern Sudan, eastern Congo, and down to Uganda and Kenya.

In 1500 the Biito-Luo, led by Chief Labongo, settled with the Bantu of Bunyoro in Uganda, at which point the Nilotes became Bantuized and created the Banyoro ethnic group. In the 16th century the Alur, Jonam, and Acholi migrated into northern Uganda, but as the Lango were already settled north of Lake Kyoga (part of the Nile River), these groups moved eastwards. (The Lango are Western Nilotic, but are they Shilluk or Lwoo?) In 1600 the Padhola moved to southeastern Sudan and the Budama to eastern Uganda, living in forests for defense against neighboring Bantu and Ateker people. In 1750, Luo led by Ochieng Waljak, with advanced military skill, drove out the local Bantu from Ugenya in Siaya, and began settlement in the plains of Kenya north and east of Lake Victoria. Only in the 19th century did the Luo migrate into Tanganyika, along the eastern shore of Lake Victoria.

As they migrated around the lake they encountered the Basuba ethnic group, a Bantu people that had crossed the lake centuries before to the eastern side of the lake and who engaged in boat building, fishing, and small-scale agriculture. It is likely that the Basuba taught the Luo these skills; conversely many Basuba people have adopted Nilotic culture and language, in effect becoming a part of the Luo tribe. In Tanzania, of the 280,000 Basuba people, 233,000 consider Luo their tribal language (most of those under

age fifty, whether Luo or Basuba, today speak Kiswahili as their main language). In Kenya, according to one Christian website, two-thirds of Basuba prefer Kisuba to Kijaluo, although this statistic would probably be strongly questioned by people familiar with the Kenyan lake area.

Another small group of Bantu people who live near Kowak became Luoized and now speak the Luo language as their tribal language. These are the Wategi people, who have given the name to the small village of Utegi, about six miles from Kowak.

When the Maryknollers arrived in Kowak in 1946, the White Fathers told them that they thought the Luo people were descendants of Egyptians, since the Luo word for river and for the Nile River is *aora*. According to the White Fathers, the biblical word for the Nile in Egypt in the time of Joseph, son of Jacob, was also *aora*. However, this explanation of the origins of Nilotic people would not be accepted by any anthropologists. If anything, the Egyptians would be descendants of the people of equatorial Africa, going back fifty to sixty thousand years. Possibly, the word for the Nile River, which would have been one of the most basic means of survival for people living along the Nile, has a linguistic relationship.

Despite our thinking of the Luo as indigenous fishermen, their primary culture up to the 19th century was cattle herding, and cattle ownership formed their culture and means of livelihood. However, Carney writes that in the 19th century they changed their culture to that of subsistence agriculture, and land possession became the most important value in their culture.

While cattle-culture is a strong influence in their life, land is a source of security, a catalyst to the definition of tribal authority, and a community organization for the modern Luo.

In the 20th century, extreme land pressures in northwestern Tanzania, the poor quality of the land for farming, the possibility of labor migration to urban areas, and increasing access to higher education, led to the Luo migrating to many parts of Tanzania, especially urban areas. In fact, in the first half of the 20th century there were so many Luo police in Dar es Salaam that the police force was called Kavirondo, from the name of the gulf in the northeastern part of Lake Victoria.

Although this volume is about Tanzania, some historical incidents from Kenya are salient vis-à-vis the Tanzanian Luo (there are 4.6 million Luo in Kenya, versus about 400,000 in Tanzania). Unlike other large ethnic groups in Kenya, the Luo never had any of their land alienated by the British and in the year 1900 the Luo Chief, Odera, provided 1500 porters for the British in their military expedition against the Nandi. In 1915, the British facilitated a visit by Chief Odera Akang'o of Siaya to Kampala. He was so impressed that on his return to Kenya he forced the Luo to adopt western styles of schooling, dress and hygiene. Maybe so, but Mill Hill missionaries of Kisumu reported that even in the 1930s Luo men and women were completely naked while working on their small farms in the Kano Plains east of Kisumu. Many Luo learned English, and are considered the best English-speakers in Kenya (maybe, maybe not; we won't engage in interethnic bickering about this). However, despite their acceptance of modern progress and modern educational opportunities brought by the British, the Luo supported the drive to independence even though they did not get involved in Mau Mau. A Luo lawyer,

C.M.G. Argwings-Kodhek, defended Mau Mau suspects in court against the British and was honored to have a major road in Nairobi named after him.

Luo culture, despite trappings of modernity, retains a strong hold on all Luo people, whether urban or rural and whether living in Luoland or far away at the coast of Tanzania. But there have been some changes over the decades. Traditionally, Luo did not circumcise either boys or girls, but in recent years some of the Kenyan Luo have been circumcising boys shortly after birth. The traditional form of initiation was to remove the six lower front teeth of young children, but this is no longer practiced.

At marriage the bride price is paid by the groom, in two ceremonies. The first, called *Ayie*, is a payment of money to the bride's mother. The second stage is a payment of cattle to the bride's father (today this is more likely to also be money or something equivalent), after which the bride's parents allow church marriage. (Cf ahead for comments by Ed Baskerville on the three stages of Luo marriage.) Polygamy has been a strong cultural practice for Luo men but, as for most East African ethnic groups, economic strictures are making this far more difficult today. Widespread secondary and higher education for women has also impacted polygamy.

Another traditional custom, widow inheritance (the brother or other male relative of the dead husband taking the widow as another wife), is being observed less frequently, according to the Wikipedia website. Fr. Ed Hayes denies the Wikipedia claim and says widow inheritance is still widely practiced in the Kowak area.

From my experience of a few short years living in Kowak, widow inheritance is very much alive. It was one of the major causes of HIV at Kowak and especially at Buturi. I was involved in two cases there. Fr. Jim Conard has many stories about his attempt to advise men not to take the widow as he knew that her husband had died of AIDS. He told one of his best workers this and the man's reply was, "I live as a Luo and I will die as a Luo." And he did.

Right near the mission there is a younger woman named Eunice who has three children. She and her husband John were the Youth Leaders of the Parish. John died of cancer. Her three children were still young but she absolutely refused to be inherited. My impression was that she was a 'unique' case.

In Kenya a famous legal case took place in the 1990s when a wealthy Luo man died without leaving a will (intestate). He had property in both the city of Nairobi and back in his ancestral home near Kisumu. The question was whether he should be buried at a cemetery in Nairobi or at his rural home, although the real issue was whether his widow would inherit all the property or whether the deceased's brothers could claim the property. The court, which normally rules using British law, decided that because of lack of a written will traditional law governed this decision. The court ruled that the deceased man should be buried in his rural home; that his rural land was to revert to his birth family; but allowed the widow to inherit the urban house and land. This case and decision divided the country because the widow was a Kikuyu. But the result is that in Kenya there is now a legal precedent that traditional (tribal) law governs marriage questions, unless there is a written will (or other legal contract). Whether this decision applies to Tanzania is not known.

In other areas Luo cultural accomplishments have been well celebrated, such as in music, dance and sports. Singing and playing of musical instruments have been used by Luo for millennia, for functional purposes, ritual purposes, and even while doing physical work (e.g. farm work in the fields). They developed a famous instrument, the *Nyatiti*, an eight-stringed lyre, which is still used by some experts. In the 1950s, Luo created the *Benga* music and dance style, partly traditional, partly modern pop, which uses the guitar and is still very popular, albeit somewhat changed since the 1950s. One of the most famous nation-wide popular bands of the 1960s and 1970s came from Luoland – the Shirati Jazz Band. In sports, Luo have been considered the best soccer players in Kenya and among the best in Tanzania. The Gor Mahia soccer team of Kisumu has won many Kenyan national championships. In Tanzania, the top soccer teams are based in Dar es Salaam and are not tribal based, drawing players from all over the country. The Maryknollers in Kowak commented as early as 1946 and 1947 that Luo are excellent soccer players, and in 1948 Fr. Joe Glynn sponsored a soccer league based in Kowak.

According to Carney, there were about 62,000 Luo in both the Musoma and North Mara Districts in 1948. Today Rorya District has a population of over 280,000, of which the Luo constitute a huge majority, three-quarters or more; there are also tens of thousands of Luo living in the two Musoma Districts, Urban and Rural. In 2001, the official statistic was a total of 280,000 Luo in all of Tanzania. In 2010, one source claimed there were 800,000 Luo in Tanzania, a statistic that is highly dubious (perhaps there are 400,000 Luo in the country).

The presence of diverse peoples in Musoma Diocese can be seen as a curse or blessing. Carney's comment is worth noting:

The northwestern section of Tanzania is one of the most linguistically diverse areas of the whole country with the Nilotic and Cushitic influences among the predominantly Bantu speaking peoples. About ninety-five percent of the population of Tanzania speak one of the Bantu languages, but most of the five percent of the Nilotic and Cushitic speaking people live in northwest and north-central Tanzania. What is interesting is the diversity and richness that the tradition and heritage of this Nilotic and Cushitic people add to the population of Tanzania in general, and in specific, to the northwest section of the country. The peoples of Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses, representing some twelve or more tribes, all reflect in their traditions and cultures the influences of the great migrations of the past from the Nile Basin.

In Nyegina, Collins referred to this diversity as a modern version of “the tower of Babel,” the story from Chapter Eleven of Genesis. However, the previous chapter of Genesis (Chapter Ten) gives a long account of the peopling of the earth and implies that this was a blessing from God. Both perspectives have merit in different circumstances. President Julius Nyerere seemed to be able to work with anybody. One of his most trusted aides was a Luo, Hellon Ang'ielia Owino of Shirati, who defended Nyerere against Oscar Kambona (the Kambona affair will be mentioned later in this volume), was sent by Nyerere to mediate disputes with Kenya, and informed Nyerere of Kenyan intent to take Zanzibar (in 1964).

Thus it was that at the beginning of October, 1946, after about one week in Nyegina, Bert Good and Joe Brannigan traveled to Kowak – Good to learn Dholuo and Brannigan to learn Kikuria. As in Nyegina, there was no course for these languages; the White Fathers insisted that the way to learn it was by talking with the people. After one week Good tried talking with schoolboys and on one of the Sundays in early November he spent the whole morning trying to hear the language. Similarly, Brannigan tried to listen to conversations when Fr. Hendriks, the White Father who was working with the Bakuria people, met with people at Kowak. There were no Bakuria living near Kowak, but Christians would come for Mass or to discuss “*shauris*”. (*Shauri* is a catch-all Kiswahili word meaning a case or question or advice. When a Christian came to the parish office to discuss something with the priest, the matter was called a *shauri*. Marriage cases were the most often discussed, but it could be about anything.) Brannigan also started going with Hendriks to Kuria country twenty to thirty miles northeast of Kowak.

There were three White Fathers stationed at Kowak, all priests: William (Willem) Van der Heijden, Frans Hendriks, and Erwin Binder, who was German. Being German, Binder was confined to house arrest by the British colonial administration, although in effect he was allowed to move about anywhere within the territory of the parish. Binder was totally forbidden to travel to Kenya and could not go into Musoma without written permission from the District Officer in Tarime – and even then he had to return to Kowak by evening of the same day. This administrative restriction was finally lifted in August, 1947, two full years after the end of the war. The Maryknollers got along very well with Binder and the other priests and never understood nor approved of this stringent form of confinement, but Binder preferred this to being detained in a prisoner-of-war camp and then repatriated to Germany. Brannigan explained that even though the Germans had mistreated the Dutch badly in the war, the two Dutch priests got along well with Binder, all of them members of the same White Fathers community.

Van der Heijden was a fairly big-hearted guy, so there wasn't any animosity between the two. And they were hard workers; we were impressed by the way they did it and their enthusiasm.

One time a baby was born and the parents named it Hitler. The British heard about that and were raising cane. They thought Binder instigated it all, but no, he was a nice guy. He was a good missionary and didn't want to get into any trouble, nor cause any trouble for the church.

There were only four bedrooms at Kowak and with the addition of two Maryknoll priests a fifth bedroom was needed. Brannigan described the design and construction of the rectory, church and other buildings as “paleolithic; this was really being in the missions.” The rooms in the rectory were all in a row, the four bedrooms and a refectory (dining area). The bedrooms were small, square rooms. The kitchen was outside (even today the kitchen at Kowak is outside). There were also an outside shower and latrines; at night you had to use a flashlight and watch out for snakes. All the buildings had grass roofs, including the rectory and the church. Brannigan, being the youngest, had to sleep in the sacristy in the back of the church, a mud-floored, mud-walled room with a tiny window, which he likened to “a dungeon; but to me it didn't make any difference. I was

there; I didn't see any difficulty with it." At the end of December, Hendriks went to Holland for furlough and never returned to either Kowak or Musoma Prefecture, enabling Brannigan to move into a bedroom.

Brannigan also mentioned that the White Fathers lived very poorly, with only about fifty cents (American) a day for food. The soup on their first night at Kowak was covered with white ants, which did not dissuade the White Fathers from eating it right up. Naturally, the Maryknollers were very reluctant to try the soup and, according to Brannigan, he avoided soup or food covered with ants in the future. (There are many jokes about how expatriates in Africa react to or adjust to insects in food or drink.) Brannigan didn't say, but the addition of the Maryknoll viatique of \$30.00 per person per month must have greatly improved the food quality at Kowak. As at Nyegina, the White Fathers at Kowak had a garden, but in November, 1946, there was nothing in it. It would not be until mid-1947 that they began to get fresh vegetables.

Unfortunately, none of the three White Fathers spoke much English and the morning and night prayers were in French. Good and Brannigan gave them books in English grammar and vocabulary and "they became quite good in English. William's (Van der Heijden) English was better than Binder's, more fluent. That was probably one reason why they didn't go to the Boma (government offices) very much. They were embarrassed they didn't speak English. They didn't like the British anyhow, and the British didn't like them." In any event, by the following March their English was good enough that the community prayers were recited in English. Good wrote in his diary: "We happily discover their morning and night prayers to be beautiful and quite apropos to mission life."

Since Mass was in Latin, both Maryknollers were saying Mass right from the beginning. According to the diaries, by the end of their first month both Good and Brannigan were doing "very good" in their respective languages. In fact, on December 8, 1946, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, Brannigan gave his first sermon in Kikuria. It was good that he was able to reach this milestone so quickly, since beginning in January, 1947, just two months after his arrival, he was the only one doing work with the Bakuria people. It would be several more months, though, before he was able to hear confessions.

One problem Brannigan had in learning Kikuria was living in a Luo area.

There were no Kuria around there and no language course. We had to get a young man from Bukenye, halfway to Tarime, who came in fairly faithfully. But he wasn't a teacher and didn't know how to go about it. And I didn't have any idea how to learn it. I didn't have any books, although I did get a Kuria dictionary that Fr. Adolf Conens of Isibania had put together, which was a big help. They also had some papers with translations of the New Testament, gospels mostly, into Kikuria. Those were the only things written in Kikuria.

The language that I learned more was Luo, while I was in Kowak. I heard Luo all day long and even went out on Luo sick calls before I began in Kurialand. The first baptism I did was of a Luo baby, although it had Bakuria godparents.

There was an additional problem for Brannigan regarding language, namely the need for Kiswahili in the town of Tarime, particularly for hearing confessions. This was

the same difficulty that the Maryknollers in Nyegina discovered with their outreach to Musoma town. All Maryknollers who have learned both tribal languages and Kiswahili have asserted that the latter is much easier, with many more written resources for learning Swahili well. However, if one is spending over ninety percent of one's time in a tribal language, it is difficult to learn Kiswahili to any degree of proficiency. Luo-speaking priests in Kowak were fortunately spared from this dilemma (until the 1970s, when it became necessary for every priest working in Tanzania to know Kiswahili).

Good waited until later to give his first sermon in Dholuo, on May 4, 1947. Van der Heijden and Binder were doing full-time work with the Luo people and, of course, Good had gone to Nairobi for two weeks in December. He had the luxury of being able to take longer to learn the Luo language. In May, 1947, he also began hearing confessions in Dholuo.

As the months went on the diaries commented on various rituals in accordance with the season. As in Nyegina, the church at Kowak was packed at Christmas; Brannigan estimated that there were about 2,500 at the Masses of Christmas eve and day. In contrast, he said that New Year's Eve was very quiet, unlike their exuberant celebrations in the seminary. Lent brought the Stations of the Cross on Fridays and many people coming in on Ash Wednesday to receive the ashes. By April and May they were doing adult baptisms and it was observed that the form used was one imposed by Bishop Oomen of Mwanza, an abbreviated form although still somewhat lengthy.

There were two motorcycles at Kowak, making trips easier. The trips were longer, though, than in Nyegina, to Shirati on Lake Victoria, about thirty miles to the west – through a wilderness area called the Tim that contained rhino, zebra, antelope and other large animals – and twenty-five to thirty-five miles to the northeast to Kuria country. Brannigan also made a number of trips to Isibania Parish, which was in Kenya, right on the border, about thirty miles north of Kowak. As mentioned above, Fr. Conens, a Mill Hill Father, also from Holland, was the pastor of this parish. Much more will be said about his helpful role to Brannigan.

Good and Brannigan also had to travel regularly to both Musoma, for shopping and some official matters, and to Nyegina to see Collins, and so became familiar with taking a lorry to Kinesi and the ferry to Musoma. To go up to Nyegina they had to hope they would get a ride on a lorry. Otherwise, they had to borrow a bicycle. In most cases, they spent at least one night in Nyegina. At the beginning of March the two of them in Kowak got new motorcycles, which greatly alleviated their travel.

When their mission boxes arrived in Musoma and were put on the ferry to Kinesi, Good and Brannigan had to go to Kinesi to meet the ferry, pay the ferry charges, load the boxes on to a lorry heading to Kowak, and pay the charges for the lorry as well. Good commented in the November, 1946, diary: "We become more convinced of the necessity of having a truck at the mission. A truck would pay for itself within a few years, on savings made from the exorbitant charges of hiring lorries here."

As mentioned above, right in the first two months the Maryknollers began to question the White Fathers' lack of mobility, lack of infrastructural supports, and lack of decent housing. These would not be the only things they would question. At the same time, they consistently expressed admiration for the work of the White Fathers and the Maryknollers and White Fathers in each of the two parishes maintained very good personal relationships right up until the White Fathers left.

We will examine first the matters within Kowak Parish, and church work with Luo, before going on to parish work with Kuria. But let us take a quick look at some of the physical matters the new missionaries had to deal with. Mount Rorya was an attractive magnet to adventurous, young men, and in December, 1946, Brannigan joined Binder and Van der Heijden in climbing the mountain – and in imbibing in local beer at a Christian’s house on the way down.

A more formidable obstacle was the River Mori, which cuts across the road from Kowak and Utegi (six miles north of Kowak) to Shirati on Lake Victoria. The river starts in the Kuria hills northeast of Tarime and also cuts across the road from Tarime to the Kenya border at Isibania. The diary states that in December, 1946, the Mori was uncrossable, a situation that persisted regularly up through the following May.

In the diary of February, 1947, Brannigan wrote that “we have had very heavy rains; this is the wettest dry season ever.” And in May Good wrote that “this has been a record rainy season.” The sloppy roads and constant rain, especially being caught in downpours in late afternoon, caused havoc with their motorcycles. They were lucky, though, in that Van der Heijden turned out to be an excellent motorcycle mechanic. (It was only in 1948 that Brannigan made the decision to forego motorcycle travel and buy his second-hand Ford.) Finally, in the first week of June, Brannigan wrote that “the rains have ceased (and) travel is again possible.” In contrast to the heavy rains of 1946/47, the diaries of 1949 mention the extreme drought conditions in North Mara, previously mentioned as one of the elements that debilitated the Groundnut Scheme.

The diaries also wrote of the wild thunder and lightning that accompanied some of the rainstorms, plus the strong winds. In the years 1946 through 1948, none of the windstorms caused any severe damage to the buildings at Kowak. But over the years, Kowak’s location at the beginning of an upslope to the mountain, at the end of a long plain, would result in a series of violent wind gusts that would intermittently pull off the roofs of the convent, school and even the rectory.

Kowak Parish was a Luo parish and thus it was necessary for Van der Heijden to teach Bert Good all the ins and outs of Luo culture as well as the particularities of parish administration. At the end of November Good spent a whole day with Van der Heijden learning how to record a marriage in the parish marriage book. This was just one of five registers or files that were in the office in Kowak.

In his second Sunday in Kowak, Good attended the meeting of the Catholic Action leaders. They had four agenda items: the need for benches with backs on them, a question about women’s circumcision (Kuria circumcise girls, Luo do not; the controversy about girls’ circumcision will be addressed only in the final part of this volume, on current ministries), an issue regarding a catechist who took a Catholic woman without marriage, and a long discussion about wife-inheritance, which some Catholic Action leaders did not view as wrong since it had been a deeply rooted custom. Presumably Bert Good understood very little of the discussion, but the White Fathers translated the main points of the discussion.

As the months went on, Good discovered that marriage questions were the thorniest matters affecting Christian life. Catholic men took wives without marriage, others took a second wife, women could not be baptized without an accompanying

church marriage, and Catholic couples could not receive the sacraments if the bridewealth had not been paid in full. In June, 1947, they became aware of a Catholic man who had refused to inherit his deceased brother's wife, also a Catholic, and made sure that none of his brothers or male cousins took her. Then this man became sick and received the last sacraments. The priests were afraid that if he died one of the brothers would take the woman as his lawful inheritance, since the family had paid the cows as bridewealth.

The priests also gradually became aware that Luo girls had some rights regarding choice of husband. According to the June diary, if a girl ran away from her husband three times, the native court would rule that the prospective husband should take back his cows and look for another woman to marry.

The woman's father often interfered with this, as he desired to keep the cows. Thus Kowak Mission set up a house for girls who had fled from their homes to avoid being forced into an unwanted marriage. One woman who showed up at Kowak was the daughter of the Chief of Shirati, along with the hopeful groom. She did not want to marry him and brought clothes along so she could live at the mission. She feared the man would beat her and that her father would reject her wishes. The house for women was called the "Barbizon Hotel," and in June, 1947, there were nine women living there after having run away from their homes. A few other women were living in the home while undergoing the catechumen course.

Another custom they encountered was the capture and taking of the girl. In mid-June, 1947, Binder and Brannigan joined a posse of people in mid-day chasing after two men and one woman. The latter had been living at Barbizon Hotel and was scheduled to be married to a man in church several days later. The prospective husband was one of the two men who had captured the woman. The priests could not understand why he couldn't wait a few days for the official marriage. In the end (or at least for the time being) the woman rejected the man.

As a result of Luo marriage customs there were more Catholic men than Catholic women. Non-catholic families did not allow women to attend religious instruction until after marriage. The Catholic mission did not allow women to be married with a dispensation until they had finished eight months of instruction.

These are some of the examples of marriage cases that the new missionaries encountered in their first year. They and other Maryknollers who came out later were to experience many such cases. Dealing with them eventually led to Maryknollers asking two questions: first, in discussing marriage cases how they wish to invest their time and energy; and secondly, can the radical difference between African traditional marriage and Roman canonical marriage law ever be resolved. These questions confront the Church even in the twenty-first century.

In other areas, the new priests learned some interesting things, such as Luo birth names that are usually connected to an event coinciding with the birth, such as night (*otien* in Luo; Otieno for men and Atieno for women are very common Luo names). At baptism they would take a Christian name and at Confirmation another Christian name. Local foods were another area of learning. Bert Good ate at a number of Luo homes and appreciated the good cooking. The staple food was called *kuon*, made from local grain. One woman rigged up a large clay pot that had a tin cover, which Good likened to an indigenous form of pressure cooker.

Another fascinating incident occurred several days after an eclipse of the sun on May 20, 1947. Good wrote that a delegation of 'pagans' visited the mission regarding the eclipse.

It seems that pagan lore says that when the moon passes the sun, the cows will die. The pagans wish to know what to do now to offset the effect of the eclipse on their cows. All of us assure them that nothing will happen to the cows. The moon merely passed the sun. However, despite our assurances many of them left skeptical of the outcome.

It is probable that not only the pagans but also Christians shared these beliefs about eclipses. Over the years Maryknollers have learned that most Africans, at least those in rural areas who have had limited education, attribute supernatural causality to what Americans and Europeans call natural events. At the same time, Maryknollers have observed a constant, steady increase in a scientific understanding of the world. Other phenomena that stymie those with a pre-scientific worldview are lightning, drought, disease, and sudden death.

Good's comment about the priests' assurances elucidates John Iliffe's evaluation of religion: Christianity could explain the wider world but could not answer for the African his impotence before existential, immediate evil, embodied in inexplicable 'natural' events. It would take many more years before missionaries could devise effective methods of facilitating the discernment and understanding of the problem of evil within the African context.

Despite the difference in worldview, the missionaries expressed wonderment in many diaries at the regular actions of assistance offered by Africans, such as carrying motorcycles and the missionaries through swollen rivers, carrying heavy mission boxes to the ferry or to lorries, offering to give up seats on crowded lorries so the priests could ride, cooking wonderful meals for missionaries, done not only by Catholics but even non-Catholics, and the never-failing and natural manner in which Africans welcomed the expatriate missionaries to their homesteads.

An important component of mission work was running the primary school. In the 1940s primary school went up to fourth grade, called Standard Four. The following four grades, Standard Five to Eight, were called Middle School and there were very few middle schools in the country. Just as at Nyegina, Kowak had a large primary school, but for boys only. Thus, right away in the first week Fr. Hendriks spent a whole morning teaching Good "the intricacies of running an African school." One immediate problem at Kowak was difficulty in finding teachers to replace two who were leaving and the need to fire (and replace) a third teacher who was always late. It was not till the end of January, 1947, that the school finally had its full complement of teachers. In the interim, the priests temporarily used an intelligent and somewhat older boy who had finished the second grade to teach the first grade boys. Good himself also spent some time teaching, while awaiting a teacher. He also began teaching English to the fourth grade boys, most of whom would be going to middle school the following year. The middle school was in Mwanza, and entry depended on the results of a diocesan test administered by Fr. Van Riel of Nyegina.

When Good began teaching English in the fourth grade, all the teachers asked if they could also attend. The priests had to refuse them, as the teachers were supposed to be teaching the other grades at the same time.

At the end of January, 1947, Good reported that the school had all its teachers, who were doing well, a re-formed schedule, a daily drill that enhanced self-discipline, and that the school was peaceful and productive.

However, at the beginning of March, 1947, a new certified teacher came to teach the fourth grade, referred by Fr. Conens of Isibania. In less than three weeks his quarrelsome nature led to constant arguments with his neighbors, a call by the Catholic Action leaders to dismiss him, and at least one fist-fight outside the church after Mass. The priests tolerated him up till the beginning of May, when his obstinacy forced the priests to fire him. Van der Heijden had to take a trip to Nyegina to see Fr. Van Riel, the diocesan education secretary, to obtain permission to fire the teacher. The teacher then went to Nyegina to demand he be paid a full month's salary that month (May), which Van Riel approved in a note to Kowak. But Good's diaries indicate he was more bemused than appalled by the behavior of this teacher.

In the meantime, on March 19, 1947, North Mara was elevated to District status, with Tarime as its capital (later called Tarime District). The District Officer sent a note to Kowak requesting one of the Maryknoll priests to accept a position on the District Education Board, which Good accepted. He, too, took a trip to Nyegina to see Van Riel and learn the diocesan education policies, during which time he also got his license to drive a motorcycle. Both Good and Brannigan developed good relationships with first the District Officer, Mr. Ingram, and later with the new District Commissioner, whom they visited in May.

Good became Director of Kowak Primary School and also began teaching religion to the Catholic schoolboys in the school every day. In mid-June Van Riel came to administer the year-end examinations for the fourth grade boys, and several days later reported that he could make arrangements for all the boys to go on to middle school.

Brannigan also began to address the lack of schooling for Kuria children, although he faced several challenging obstacles, foremost among them his living at Kowak. In the months of November and December, 1946, he and Hendriks were faced with heavy rain, although they did go up to Kuria country for a few days each month. Then, from February to May, 1947, there was once again very heavy rain, but again Brannigan was able to make occasional trips.

January, 1947, was apparently drier and one of the first things Brannigan learned was that the only catechists' school (this is what they called bush schools taught by catechists, who were neither trained nor certified teachers) was being forced to move. It was located too close to a Protestant school, which was against government policy. The catechist at this school had moved before and was getting tired of having to move his family all the time. Brannigan promised him he would teach at the mission school as soon as a mission was started. (Hendriks had left by then and Brannigan was alone to do Kuria work.)

That same month Brannigan visited Fr. Conens in Isibania, where he spent two weeks, to learn what he was doing with the Bakuria. As for schooling, Conens told Brannigan that several years previously he had abrogated the system of low-paid,

untrained catechists in schools. He offered a starting salary of KShs. 10/- per month (\$2.00), with the prospects of two shilling per month raises each year, provided they underwent a six-month training program and agreed to assignment to whichever school needed a teacher. This not only improved primary school education but also the catechumen program, as we will see. In contrast, the White Fathers used untrained catechists and paid them very little.

Brannigan and Conens also visited the Chiefdom of Nyamongo with a former teacher and businessman at Isibania who was originally from Nyamongo. He requested a school at Nyamongo and volunteered to teach. The Christians at Nyamongo had become indifferent, due to extremely infrequent visits by a priest. Distance from Kowak and the constant flooding of the Mori River prevented a priest from going there regularly. A delegation of Christians met with the priests and agreed to build a school. Brannigan promised to regularly visit, to set up a school and say Mass.

In February Brannigan and Van der Heijden visited another Bakuria catechists' school in a place called Bumeru that had recently been started. This visit resulted in the famous pet monkey that Brannigan was given. After visiting the school, the priests stopped into a Catholic home, where Brannigan came face to face with a green mamba snake, one of the most poisonous of all. Maria, the woman of the house, killed it with a spear (the original 'mother of all battles'), and then promised to bring Brannigan a monkey as a gift. She did this the following Sunday. Brannigan named it Lulu and kept it even when he started Rosana Mission two years later.

In January, 1947, Brannigan and Conens also visited Rosana, located on a high ridge overlooking the Mara River valley. In 1946/47 the priests usually referred to it as Utimbaru, the clan (or sub-tribe name), but as the mission straddles two sub-tribes, the place name of Rosana was used when the mission was begun in 1948. In 1946, prior to becoming Bishop, Blomjous had visited Tarime and chosen Rosana as the site for the mission for the Kuria people. In March, Brannigan visited Rosana again, to observe the progress of the school construction. In June, he was visiting missions in Kenya and bought blackboards at Asumbi Mission, and the following September took a special trip to Kisii town to order desks for the school. The school at Rosana was intended to be a primary school, not merely a catechists' school.

Thus, in their first year all four Maryknollers had become very involved in the mission efforts at providing education for young Tanganyikans. Overseeing primary and catechists' schools continued to be one of the main tasks of Maryknollers in Musoma and Shinyanga up until the independent Tanzania government nationalized the schools in 1969.

In addition to learning about parish, catechetical and school work, the two priests in Kowak became involved very early in choosing places for future parishes: Shirati, right next to Lake Victoria, for the Luo, and Rosana for the Kuria. (Given that they also had to learn language and culture, looking back it seems phenomenal that they were able to juggle so many diverse challenges in just their first year in Africa.)

Bert Good had been in Kowak only a little over three weeks when a large group of Catholics from Shirati came to Kowak on a Saturday in order to attend Sunday Mass. Through a series of joking statements, such as a threat to kidnap Good, they made clear to him their earnest desire for a priest stationed at Shirati. They said that there were many

Catholics there already (400 adult Catholics), that they need a school and catechetical instruction, and that there were many who wished to become Catholic if only there were a priest present. Good wrote about this discussion:

It became very difficult to refuse because of the sincere entreaty that lurked behind their joking. We promised to send a priest permanently just as soon as we receive them. Moreover, we promised to visit them, perhaps in the new year, and stay a long time with them.

Incidentally, the Shirati people, particularly the men, are as big a group of people as I have ever seen. Many of them range well over six feet, are very thickly set, and look strong. Yesterday they walked the 25 miles to the mission and today they walked back – and not unencumbered. The men had packs on their backs and the women babies on their backs, and many with additional luggage on their heads. They walk with a long, swift and steady stride, bearing in one hand a cane for comfort and in the other a knotted club for killing – to be used for intruding animals, of course. It is impossible not to love these people.

In mid-January, 1947, both Good and Van der Heijden made good on the promise to visit Shirati, going there in a memorable safari by motorcycle (the two of them on Van der Heijden's motorcycle) for a week. This was Good's first time to traverse the Tim, which he described as "lush country, thickly clothed with trees, bushes, thorns and grass a foot higher than our heads." They had to first cross the swiftly flowing Mori River on foot, but after a two-hour journey they arrived at Shirati. Shirati was at that time a small port on the lake, but with a large Mennonite mission and hospital. Five porters and three house boys (men, not boys) left Kowak very early, carrying all the supplies they would need, walking to Shirati the whole way.

Van der Heijden already had two houses in Shirati, one for sleeping and the other his office. Good was taken to an empty, recently-built hut at a neighbor's village, and was thankful that the porters arrived by evening with his mosquito net. Saida, the leader of Catholic Action, was the host for the week, and his wife, Bernadette, cooked a hearty dinner for the two priests that first day. After an afternoon swim in the lake – several Luo men guarded the beach area against possible crocodiles – they learned of their first "shauri." A Catholic girl at the village where Good was to sleep intended to elope with a Catholic boy without marriage. The next day the priests rendered a decision that since he had paid 18 cows he should pay only one more and be allowed church marriage. Before evening the priests visited the local King (Chief), Nicholas, who promised full cooperation during their stay, and they also visited a number of Catholic families. The Catholics were overjoyed and excited to have the priests there for a week.

The next morning they went to the church, a half-hour's walk away. There was no priest's house at the church and little was done there except for saying Mass. Discussions with the people and handling of administrative matters were done at the office. People also came each evening to talk with the priests at their houses.

On Saturday and Sunday, the priests spent much more time at the church, as numerous people came in to go to confession and attend Mass. Van der Heijden spent most of the day on both Saturday and Sunday hearing confessions – he said an early, low Mass each day. Good did not yet know enough Luo to hear confessions, although he did

hear confessions of a few elderly, sick people, “because they have so few sins.” On Saturday Good tried to collect the annual church tax, called *Zaka*, one shilling for a man and a half shilling for a woman (20 cents and 10 cents respectively). He was unsuccessful on Saturday but on Sunday he collected 25 shillings – about \$5.00.

The church was packed at both Masses on Sunday and Good concluded that “we finish the morning firmly convinced that Shirati and its confines already have enough Catholics to deserve their own priest here all the time.” He also wrote, in reference to the Mennonite Hospital, which was being expanded that year, that “if we get a church here, we shall also prove we are good to the people with an excellent school, or something that is needed.”

Unfortunately, Good and Van der Heijden were not able to return to Shirati until mid-June of 1947, five months later, probably due to the heavy rain and impassable roads.

In August, Bishop Blomjous came to Kowak for a week and his main purpose was to choose a site for the new mission near Shirati. Since the Mennonites already had a mission in the town of Shirati, the Catholic mission had to be three miles away, according to the colonial government’s rules. The site eventually chosen was Masonga, about five miles north of Shirati, almost adjacent to the lake. Blomjous did not visit the Rosana site in that month of August, 1947, but he confirmed it as the site. Both missions were begun in 1948.

Brannigan had visited Rosana in January, 1947, but did not visit it much prior to August, 1947. Rain may have been a factor and he did not get his motorcycle until March. But he also began going to Tarime often for Mass on Sundays, where he had a steady congregation of 75 Catholics. Mass was said in the native court house. Hearing confessions in Tarime was the first indication Brannigan had that Kiswahili would become necessary for anyone working in a town setting.

When the rains had ended in the beginning of June he started going to Tarime every Sunday and observed that there were many more at Mass. He attributed two possible reasons: the frequent, dependable Mass service; and his good relationship with the people. Fr. Hendriks, in his final months, had developed a very negative attitude towards African people. In June, 1947, Brannigan wrote:

This good showing and evident happiness of the people at having a priest among them makes me more anxious to get established among them. I also learned how little of the language I learned, studying alone at Kowak.

Over his years in Rosana Brannigan had good relations with some of the Europeans living in Tarime, something that began in 1947. On June 12, 1947, the new District Commissioner of Tarime invited the priests to Tarime for a luncheon in honor of the King’s Birthday. Fathers Van der Heijden, Brannigan and Good attended. Oddly, of the fifteen present, nine were American; the other seven Americans were Mennonite. It was only nine miles from Rosana to Tarime (on a road that was at times impassable, however), and Brannigan developed good social relations with the small expatriate community in Tarime, playing tennis regularly and often eating at their homes.

As was mentioned above, he did visit Rosana in March and June to check on the progress of the construction of the school. In August he made an overnight trip to Rosana to celebrate Mass on the feast of the Assumption and reported:

The little school-chapel was jammed to the doors. I estimate that about one third of the adult Bakuria Christians were there. Six of the nine Chiefdoms were represented. The elders of the different Chiefdoms held a big shauri to undertake projects to impress the Bishop that they deserved a permanent mission.

By mid-August the priests at Kowak knew that Blomjous was in Nyegina and was coming to Kowak at any time. After spending several days in Rosana, Brannigan was given a sack of potatoes and a leg of lamb by the Kuria to serve the Bishop in Kowak. Brannigan arrived back at Kowak just a few hours before Blomjous came.

In the diary of August, 1947, Brannigan wrote that both he and Good were impressed with Bishop Blomjous.

He is certainly out of the ordinary ultra-conservative White Fathers we have met thus far. His immediate plans call for the development of the North Mara District, which has been neglected since its inception. At Kowak he plans to replace all the important buildings with permanent ones and he hopes the Maryknoll Sisters will accept his invitation. So, the first work will be the building of the convent. His plans for the building of the priests' house take into consideration all the advantages and handicaps of the terrain and climate.

Forty years later Brannigan was interviewed for the Maryknoll History Project and commented on Bishop Blomjous:

He was nice, because he was new at his job. He had been seminary rector, I think. For the White Fathers he was 'Your Lordship;' for us, he was Bishop and we addressed him quite informally. We asked him all sorts of questions; well, we were curious, why do you do this and why this, and he was pretty good. He didn't feel threatened or anything. We found out that everything he said wasn't true either, but he was never at a loss to talk and discuss, which was good. But the White Fathers thought we were a little too free or too informal with the Bishop.

The first impressions of Blomjous in August, 1947, occurred prior to the priests at Kowak learning of the loose way in which Blomjous had used money designated for Maryknoll use in Musoma. Fortunately, Bill Collins handled that sensitive issue well and it never created Maryknoll ill will toward the Bishop.

Joe Carney also gives a close look at Bishop Blomjous' schedule of inculturating a new missionary to Africa (or at least western Tanganyika), which Blomjous formulated when he became Bishop of Mwanza in 1950 (cf Carney, Chapter Seven, pages 252-254).

Bishop Joseph Blomjous had a unique method of trying to inspire the missionaries of his area with the responsibility of learning both the language and

the culture of the people well. He prepared a lengthy questionnaire on the culture and customs of the local people throughout the area where he worked. The questionnaire ran six pages and had as many as eighty-five specific questions to be answered by the missionary.

The questionnaire in 1949 was on Native Marriage Customs, and the written answers were to be discussed in consultation with other priests in the deanery or whichever council of priests met. Blomjous thoroughly covered questions about tribal culture and customs relating to the nature, concept and forms of marriage, conditions for and legality of marriage, preparation for marriage, wedding presents, dowry and bride-price, and the marriage ceremony itself.

Blomjous applied pressure on the missionaries in his ecclesiastical area to see that the reports were handed in regularly, so important did he think it was that the missionary enter into a systematic study of the customs and culture of the Tanganyikan, as well as a proficient study of the language.

The entire questionnaire consisted of four parts and covered a span of four years in order to be brought to completion. In addition to Native Marriage Customs, other areas to be researched were Married Life and its Rights and Obligations, Relations between Tribes and Chiefdoms, and Religious and Moral Life.

In later sections of this volume more will be said about Blomjous' progressive understanding of the role of catechists in the Tanganyikan Church, in reference to his opening of the Bukumbi Catechists' Training Centre in 1957 and the paper on catechesis he delivered at the Congress for Mission Catechetics in Germany in 1960. These points illustrate that Blomjous was very interested in these questions and open to various suggestions and points of view.

This was all to the good, because in August, 1947, the most intensive questioning he faced from Good and Brannigan revolved around the four-year catechumenate system that the White Fathers had kept in place since the time of Cardinal Lavignerie in the 19th century. (Carney's thesis, Chapter Six, pages 166 to 221, examines the evolution of Maryknoll's catechetical system from 1946 up to the establishment of the Mipa and Komuge Catechists' Training Centres. These developments and the origin of Small Christian Communities will be treated chronologically in this Volume on Maryknoll History.)

It was not the intention of the early Maryknollers to question White Fathers' methods and in the first year neither Collins nor Bayless in Nyegina had any questions about the catechumenate. But in January, 1947, after Fr. Hendriks had left Kowak permanently, Brannigan had an eye-opening experience when he went to Isibania Parish for two weeks. He discovered that Mill Hill Fr. Adolf Conens did things very differently and to Brannigan the Mill Hill system made a lot of sense. In addition to giving his catechists more training and paying them better salaries, as has been mentioned previously, he also had a two-year catechumenate rather than the four-year catechumenate of the White Fathers.

In the July, 1947, diary from Kowak, Bert Good gave a complete explanation of the White Fathers' four-year catechumenate system, as follows:

- Postulants: people desiring to be baptized study one day a week for 18 months either at the Mission or their kigango church. Study includes memorization of the first catechism and the prayers, plus instruction on church doctrine.
- First medal: if the postulants pass the exam, they are given a medal and then embark on another year of study, twice a week. Study in this section includes a review of the postulancy material, memorization of the catechism on the sacraments, and instructions on the commandments.
- Second medal: if they pass the exam they are given a second medal. This section of study is also for a year, for two days a week plus Sundays. They review previous instructions and receive lengthy instructions on all sacraments except for penance and Eucharist.
- Junior Sacrament Course: if they pass the exam they are admitted to a three-month course, focusing on the sacrament of Penance. Instructions take place three days a week, in addition to Sunday. Prior to beginning this course the marriage situation of each person is examined. Good said that 80% of the Luo had marriage cases, primarily due to “trial marriage.” Most of these could be solved. Those involved in polygamous marriages could not be baptized. Likewise, unmarried girls of pagan parents could not be baptized until they were fiancées or married to a Catholic.
- Senior Sacrament Course: after successfully completing the first four sections, they are admitted to the final three-month course, held at the Mission. They study the Eucharist in this section, and instructions take place every day. At the end, if they pass the exam, they are admitted to Baptism.

Baptism took place four times a year, Christmas, Easter, the Saturday near the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul at the end of June, and near the Feast of the Holy Rosary in September. In July, Good reported in his diary the following statistics for reception of sacraments at the beginning of the month:

24 Adult Baptisms
 30 First Communions
 64 Receive First Medal
 35 Receive Second Medal
 30 Admitted to the Sacrament Course

He said also that the number of postulants had increased. After being baptized the new Christians stayed for a one-week retreat at Kowak, which included instructions, manual labor and various other rituals.

The program of Conens in Isibania was explained by Brannigan in his diary of January, 1947, as follows:

His time of catechumenate just approaches two years. The Pray-Ers (the name of the first group) learn the prayers. Then when they know them, they are admitted into the catechism class (the second group), with class everyday this period for about 7-8 months. Upon examination they are admitted to the sacrament course (the third group) for another period of 7-8 months. What is lost in time is made up in intensity.

I prefer this system to the long drawn-out one of the White Fathers. Daily repetition seems more efficacious than class once or twice a week. I don't think that a two-year catechumenate has proved less successful in testing perseverance than the three and a half year one.

After his two-week stay in Isibania, Brannigan returned to Kowak and discussed what he had observed with Bert Good. In addition to the shorter but more intense catechumenate, the training and better salaries of catechists, and the much better facilities of the Mill Hill Fathers (which Good also observed first-hand on a visit to several parishes in South Nyanza and Kisii Districts in Kenya in what was then Kisumu Diocese in September, 1947), Brannigan mentioned other aspects of the Mill Hill method that he preferred. Instead of the white cassock, Fr. Conens wore a khaki suit and clerical collar; he used a car for travel to outstations, which was better than having porters take out supplies; and Fr. Conens had been successful in his methods, which he had been using since 1941.

Brannigan and Good forwarded their ideas to Bill Collins in February and after more discussion Collins sent all these ideas on to the Maryknoll General Council. In addition to the above, they made the following recommendations for Maryknoll in Musoma:

- Better housing, food and transport
- Several new Maryknollers with significant mission experience
- That there be a speedy separation of Musoma from Maswa-Mwanza, so that Maryknoll can develop its own catechetical system.
- That there be an intensive study of the Mill Hill and Holy Ghost Fathers catechetical systems. Compare these with what is best in the White Fathers methods and then design a program best suited to Musoma and Maryknoll Fathers.

The General Council responded quickly, to both Collins and Good, admonishing the four new missionaries that they had just recently arrived in Tanganyika and that they should concentrate on learning language and culture. The White Fathers had seventy years of experience in the Lake region, from which they should learn, and they should not be quick to critique the White Fathers.

The Maryknollers then shelved their ideas regarding the catechumenate and need for trained catechists until such time as Musoma would be a Maryknoll Prefecture. Carney notes on page 180 of his thesis that discussion of these catechetical matters were one of the first things on Monsignor Gerry Grondin's agenda, when he became Prefect Apostolate in December, 1950. This will be treated later. Carney also notes that when the Maryknollers first discussed this with Bishop Blomjous at Kowak in August, 1947, Blomjous was quite convinced of the wisdom of the three and a half to four-year catechumenate.

Although the catechetical questions were put off, some of the other recommendations were implemented, regarding transport, housing and older Maryknollers. All of the first four Maryknollers bought motorcycles in the first year and, as mentioned above, Brannigan bought a car in 1948. Bishop Blomjous also bought a car, in 1947, which was driven from Mwanza to Nyegina by Ed Bratton on his arrival in

Tanganyika in September, 1947. And in 1948, Brother Fidelis Deichelbohrer came out from New York with his four-wheel drive jeep and trailer on the boat, as he would be doing building in several missions. It was carried on the train from Dar es Salaam to Mwanza and then Bro. Fidelis drove it from Mwanza to Nyegina.

As for housing, new churches, rectories and convents were built with cement blocks or fieldstone blocks if the latter were available. And beginning in 1949, several older Maryknollers did come out, in part due to the closing out of mission work in China after the Communist Revolution.

In his diary of July, 1947, Good commented that it had been one month since the end of the rains and the country was “dry as a bone.” The crops were ready for harvest; Good said that “the Luo people call this the time for getting fat, since food is plentiful.” His evocative description of the dry season was written as though etching an artistic portrait:

Most of the rivers and ponds have dried up; a haze hangs in the air, whether of dust or moisture I know not; the fields are brown; the stars and moon are dimmed at night; and the morning and evening suns are the brightest red I have ever seen.

In August, Brannigan suggested that Isibania might be a good place to take a retreat, a suggestion that indirectly led to Bayless and newcomer Joe Glynn meeting in Kenya. The White Fathers tended to take their retreats at missions of the White Fathers in Mwanza Vicariate, such as in Sumve, but Bayless decided to go to Isibania at the beginning of September for retreat. Afterwards, he took a two-week vacation traveling in Kenya, going as far as Nairobi and Nyeri. While returning to Tanganyika, he heard that Glynn had disembarked in Mombasa and was going to Nairobi on the train. There was only one place on the boat back to Dar es Salaam (the freighter had again by-passed Dar coming from South Africa, going first to Mombasa) and Ed Bratton remained on the boat to Dar in order to be with the luggage. In Nairobi Glynn heard that Bayless was in Nakuru, a small city in the Rift Valley 100 miles northwest of Nairobi. After meeting up in Nakuru, they went on to Kisumu and by lake steamer to Musoma. They arrived at the dock in Musoma on Sunday, September 14th, met by Collins and over a dozen Christians, all of whom wanted to be blessed by the new missionary. They first went to Nyegina for a few days, but as they had no idea when Bratton was coming, Glynn went on to Kowak.

The following Sunday, September 21st, Bratton finally arrived, driving – as mentioned above – Bishop Blomjous’ new car and carrying a passenger: Fr. Omer Archambeault, the new pastor for Nyegina. Both Fr. Junker of Nyegina and Fr. Van der Heijden of Kowak were going to Holland for their one year furloughs, neither of them to return to Musoma afterwards. In addition, Fr. Van Riel of Nyegina had been transferred to Kilulu Parish in Maswa District. Thus, after the Maryknollers had been in Tanganyika less than a year, there were only two White Fathers remaining in Musoma Vicariate, Fr. Binder in Kowak and Archambeault in Nyegina. The latter was a Canadian and had previously been stationed in Nyegina for three years.

Bratton was delayed in traveling from Mombasa to Tanganyika because there was a dock-workers’ strike in Dar es Salaam. He had to disembark in Tanga with all the

luggage, which he entrusted with a shipping agent. After several days – “enjoying the hospitality of Tanga and swimming in the Indian Ocean” – he went on a small English ship to Dar es Salaam with some of the luggage. He commented that he “enjoyed the hospitality of the White Fathers for two days and then entrained for Mwanza.” There he discovered he would be driving the Bishop’s station wagon from Mwanza to Nyegina, a 160-mile, six to seven hour trip, “climbing in and out of ruts and ditches, traversing creeks, and taking a chance on a native ferry,” probably a small rope-drawn ferry over the river where the Serengeti joins Lake Victoria.

After visiting Nyegina and Kowak in August, Bishop Blomjous had gone to Maswa for several weeks, returning to Nyegina on September 7th, where he awaited Bratton’s arrival with his new vehicle. Bratton stayed in Nyegina for two days and then drove to Kowak with the Bishop, who again wanted to visit Kowak. They crossed Mara Bay with the vehicle on a ferry that had been converted from a wartime landing barge, and then drove the final twenty-five miles from Kinesi to Kowak.

In the late 1950s a rope-drawn ferry was installed over the Mara River about twelve miles inland from Kinesi. This was at a relatively narrow spot, 100 to 200 meters wide, where it was convenient to connect the main road between North Mara and Musoma. This ferry could carry all vehicles, including buses and large lorries, and became the normal mode of passage for all Maryknollers wishing to cross the river. The ferry was prone to breaking down and at times the river could not be crossed, forcing travelers to take a small passenger-only ferry over the rough waters of Mara Bay. As mentioned above, finally around 1990 a tarmac highway and a large bridge over the river were built, exponentially improving communications between North Mara and Musoma, as well as between Mwanza and Kenya.

While in Kowak, Blomjous and Brannigan drove to Kenya to look for furnishings and materials from a mine that was closing (unsaid who drove). Blomjous then went back to Maswa, where in fact he spent most of his time in the next year.

On Sunday, September 28th, Bratton sang the high Mass at Kowak, and Good wrote that “both Bratton and Glynn are now in the throes of language study of Luo.” And thus ended the first eleven event-filled months of Maryknoll’s entrance into Tanganyika and Musoma Vicariate.